



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Cameroon, Nigeria Urged To Withdraw Troops From Bakassi

AB2503133194 Dakar PANA in English 1306 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Addis Ababa, 25 March (PANA)—The OAU has called on Nigeria and Cameroon to withdraw their troops from the disputed Bakassi Peninsula and settle their border dispute peacefully based on the United Nations and OAU Charters. The OAU's central organ of mechanism for conflict resolution, in a resolution adopted Thursday [24 March] in Addis Ababa, called on both countries to "exercise restraint" and take appropriate measures to restore confidence and continue with the dialogue already initiated.

In the resolution adopted at the end of its one day meeting, the organ reaffirmed its "attachment to the respect of the principle of the inviolability of frontiers inherited from the colonial period" as well as the respect of sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all states.

The organ, while expressing grave concern at the escalating situation and its implications for the two countries and the region as a whole, expressed satisfaction that the two nations "are for a peaceful settlement of the dispute." It noted with appreciation the efforts of Presidents Eyadema of Togo and Mubarak of Egypt aimed at defusing the situation and reaching a peaceful settlement.

However both Nigeria and Cameroon expressed reservations over the wording of the text of the resolution. The Nigerian delegation called for the withdrawal of non-African troops from the peninsula to be included in the text, while Cameroon specifically wanted the withdrawal of Nigerian troops from the peninsula saying Nigeria invaded the peninsula.

'Tension' Said 'Mounting'

AB2603114294 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] Tension is mounting between Cameroon and Nigeria over the disputed ownership of the Bakassi Peninsula. Nigeria, which asserted yesterday that there

was an unusual movement of Cameroonian troops at the border, said it was determined to defend its territorial integrity. A communique from the government emphasized that the flexibility of Nigeria's policy must not be taken as an inability to defend its territorial integrity. This statement has not left the Cameroonian authorities indifferent. During a press conference held yesterday in Addis Ababa following discussions with the OAU body in charge of preventing conflicts, Cameroonian External Relations Minister Leopold Ferdinand Oyono said that war can break out at any time.

This topic was at the center of discussions yesterday in Paris between Augustin Kontchou Kouomegni, Cameroonian minister of state in charge of communications, and French President Francois Mitterrand. After the audience, Mr. Kouomegni briefed Mamadi Youssoufou on his visit to France.

[Begin recording] [Kouomegni] We have delivered to the French authorities a message from the Cameroonian head of state. We discussed with them the conflict between Nigeria and Cameroon. We also discussed the situation on the ground and efforts being made on the diplomatic front and together we examined the prospects.

[Youssoufou] Can you give us an idea about President Francois Mitterrand's position on this border conflict between your country and Nigeria?

[Kouomegni] France's position is simple. France is firmly on the side of Cameroon to ensure that the border demarcation between Nigeria and Cameroon is respected. France, we are told, is strict on ensuring respect for international law throughout the world.

[Youssoufou] Does this mean that you are maintaining your decision to bring the case before the UN Security Council?

[Kouomegni] The case is not only before the UN Security Council, but also before the OAU and the International Court of Justice. We are not dropping any of these proceedings. All the same, we are open to any other initiatives, either bilateral or multilateral. The most important thing for Cameroon is that both of these methods should create the hope for a real solution. [end recording]

Burundi

'Calm' Returns to Suburbs; Officials Note Events

Assembly Vice President Comments

PM2503141994 Paris Radio France International in French 1230 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Calm seems to have returned to the northern suburbs of Bujumbura this morning. According to AFP, there was no shooting last night or early this morning. The death toll for the recent clashes in Burundi has now been revised downwards, but the clashes between soldiers and civilians are nevertheless said to have claimed several dozen lives. Doctors Without Borders Belgium has expressed its concern about the fate of the wounded. Most of them are said to be too afraid to leave their shelters to seek medical help. Christian Sendegeya, vice president of the Burundi National Assembly, is currently visiting Paris. He has confirmed that the head of state remains quite free to move around as he wishes, and he denied that there was any coup attempt, as had been claimed. This latest flare-up nevertheless started when soldiers tried to disarm Hutu civilians in Bujumbura. Murielle Pomponne began by asking Christian Sendegeya if he felt that this process of disarmament should continue:

[Begin recording] [Sendegeya] I quite agree that this disarmament should continue, but we have to ask ourselves who should be disarming whom. Is the Army to be involved in disarmament? A large proportion of the Army was actively or passively involved in the assassination of President Ndadaye. Are we now to send out that same Army to disarm other people? This does not make any sense.

The solution I believe is, as we have always asked, for the international community to send a neutral force to Burundi. This force could perhaps be entrusted with this mission of disarmament.

[Pomponne] The OAU was set to send a number of men. Where does this plan stand now?

[Sendegeya] The OAU was first going to send some 180 soldiers. The Army together with some opposition parties complained about this. Now we are talking about some 50 officers who are expected to come and be scattered across the various military camps in the country in order to monitor the behavior of the Army. I feel, however, that this is not what is needed. We need a good team of soldiers who could prevent the current Army from doing any harm, who could begin the whole process of disarmament, and then could help us to set up a really national army, made up of soldiers from all regions. [end recording]

That was Christian Sendegeya, vice president of the Burundi National Assembly.

In a communique, the European Union yesterday condemned the violence in Burundi. According to the Twelve, I quote, this violence has been fanned by extremist elements in the authorities, the opposition, and the Army.

Troops Ignore Government Orders

AB2503130494 Paris AFP in English 1227 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Bujumbura, 25 March (AFP)—Confusion reigned in the Burundi capital on Friday [25 March] as soldiers involved in a week of tribal killings ignored government orders to withdraw from northern parts of the city. UN special envoy Ahmedou Ould Abdallah said the Army must pull out within the day. "But they are dragging their heels and the High Command is not exerting strict discipline," he said. He noted that the Army, dominated by the country's Tutsi minority, had a "terrible reputation" among the majority Hutu population in northern parts of Bujumbura where gun battles broke out at the weekend.

Abdallah estimated that at least 100 people were killed, adding that the death toll might be higher "because lots of people in this country do not weep and do not display their dead." Diplomatic sources said there were "misunderstandings" between the military and the government, "which are considerably complicating the situation."

The UN special representative repeated his complaint of the previous day that some Hutu politicians with vested interests were claiming "vastly exaggerated" casualty figures. Interior Minister Leonard Nyangoma told government radio in neighbouring Rwanda earlier in the week that almost 1,000 people had been killed. The latest official figure was given on Thursday by Communications Minister Cyriaque Simbizi at about 400.

Abdallah also rapped false reports spread in the last few days that the Army was mounting another coup and that government ministers had fled the country. "It is dangerous for the Hutu, who may well lose their credibility abroad," he said. Abdallah said he was worried about the estimated thousands of residents who fled their homes during the fighting into other parts of town, thereby causing overcrowding which could lead to fresh tensions.

Although there were no shooting overnight and things were relatively calm in northern districts of the capital, people were still seen quitting their homes for neighbouring Zaire, other parts of the city or outlying banana groves.

Part of the Army mounted a short-lived coup last October, killing Melchior Ndadaye, Burundi's first Hutu president. Since then, tribal fighting has left tens of thousands dead and driven 700,000 into refuge in surrounding countries.

Defense Minister Comments

EA2503162894 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in English 1130 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Security remains poor in the capital, Bujumbura, although last night was much calmer. Sporadic gunfire continued to be heard, especially in the northern areas of Bujumbura. In the area of Kamenge, which has been most affected by the prevailing insecurity, the situation seems to have eased.

The mayor of Bujumbura and the commander in charge of security in that area today toured the area and witnessed the situation that has relatively bettered and called on the hundreds of people that have fled to return to their homes. [sentence as heard]

In the meantime, Defense Ministe Lieutenant Colonel Gedeon Fyiroko talked about the prevailing situation and the way the Army was working to take control of the situation. They also showed to reporters a heap of weapons that had been taken from what were said to be rebels fighting the Army in the northern areas of the capital. They also denied any rumors of a military coup attempt in preparation. Mathias Ndayiragije has more:

[Begin Ndayiragije recording] Insecurity which prevails in this country could be settled soon, the defense minister said, if all moral forces could indulge in such business. He said other forces must collaborate with the government and the population as a whole, in an attempt to find ways out. For him, the first thing to be done was to create confidence among the population and be aware of the danger as it results in several losses of human lives, for which the minister for defense does not want to make stories or accounts whatsoever, because it is a shame. [sentence as heard]

All rumors which are [word indistinct] in this country tend to create mutual hatred among the population and this hatred results sometimes in mutual exclusion.

As for rumors which said there ought [as heard] to occur a military force coup, the defense minster said that the Burundi Army keeps loyal and fully supports the government and all the democratic institutions of the country.

The Burundi minister expressed concern over the disarmament issue because people who have no civil rights to hold weapons continue to seek them and this will always constitute a threat to the country's security. There are [word indistinct] thousands of weapons circulating among the population, and some of them are not available in the Burundi arsenal military stock. Some of the weapons are manufactured and imported from South Africa, Israel, Brasilia, China, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Russia and so on.

Those weapons include guns, (?F.M. Karash), grenades of different kinds, as well as rockets. There were also some weapons which are not available in the Burundi military stock arsenal but which are actually used in the Rwandese Army. Most of the other weapons such as

pistols, are used by the Burundi intelligence services. For him an action of disarmament should start soon and provide [break in transmission]. [end recording]

President, Security Council Note Crisis

EA2603115694 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1800 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Excerpts] The president of the Republic, Cyprien Ntaryamira, this morning opened the proceedings of the National Security Council, which will examine solutions to end the crisis prevailing since 21 October. The president first recalled the mission of the National Security Council then spoke on the prevailing insecurity.

[Begin Ntaryamira recording] [passage omitted] Even though the authorized services have not yet given figures on the death toll following the tragic events, there are estimates of about 100,000 deaths. There are indications of a decline in the economic and social sectors. The worst thing is that the situation does not seem to be stabilizing. After the killings in Kamenge and Tangara, our country wakes up daily to witness heaps of corpses, destroyed or burned houses in some areas of Bujumbura, and more particularly in Nyakabiga, Cibitoke, Kinama, and Musage.

A climate of suspicion has returned to some boarding schools, notably at Cibitoke, Bururi, Kayanza, and in northeastern and eastern parts of the country. There is still a fear of an external attack.

In the western and central parts of the country, local leaders report people are receiving training in weapons handling, while the specter of the Party for the Liberation of the Hutu People haunts some people. All the inhabitants of this country, both nationals and foreigners, need peace and stability in order to restore mutual trust and to live together once again. [passage omitted]

Council Notes Plans for Peace

EA2603191394 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1100 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] The National Security Council held its first ordinary meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of the head of state, who is also the chairman of the National Security Council, His Excellency Cyprien Ntaryamira. The following is a report on the meeting by Laurent Kagimbi:

[Begin Kagimbi recording] After an introductory speech by the president of the Republic, the council first studied a draft of the internal rules. The council then exchanged general views on the state of security prevailing in the entire country, particularly in Bujumbura. While discussing other business, it examined the modalities of going on meet-the-people visits to work toward a return to peace.

Concerning the internal rules, the council members examined the proposed draft, contributed to it, and referred its adoption to the next session.

On the problem of security in the entire territory, and in particular in the capital, the security members studied the issue in all its aspects and found that it was a priority concern for the country's leaders and the population. The council sadly noted that if peace and security were not restored swiftly, the country would inexorably slip into perdition.

The council expressed its deep sympathy for the victims of this destructive madness, which has befallen our dear motherland since the coup attempt in which the elected president, Melchior Ndadaye, was killed.

In order to restore security and peace in the country, the National Security Council proposes to the government the following:

First, all the institutions of the Republic and political and moral leaders of society must permanently speak the language of peace and reconciliation. The spirit of solidarity must be revived and reinforced so that the people, irrespective of their ethnic affiliations, can cultivate a spirit of mutual help in the face of danger, fighting together against criminals and all types of wrongdoers, and reject the enticement of those who want to once more drag them into ethnic violence and vengeance.

Second, all the institutions charged with public order, whether magistrates, administrative leaders or security forces, must carry out their tasks with discipline, work in permanent consultation, and act with the utmost firmness to neutralize all troublemakers and all wrongdoers who kill, loot, and destroy. In this respect, the government must establish a crisis committee which will meet daily to assess the situation, identify those responsible for the tragic events we are experiencing, propose strategies for fighting them, and report daily to the president of the Republic. The crisis committee will include the minister of state for the interior and public security, the minister of national defense, the minister of justice, and the general administrator in charge of national documentation and immigration.

Third, concerning disarmament, the government must study methods and appropriate working structures so that this operation, which is indispensable, does not

become an occasion for confrontation but rather an operation which, with the participation of everyone, aims to restore peace.

Concerning Bujumbura, the government must put in place the following measures:

One, the establishment and revival of administrative structures which must cooperate closely with the security forces. To this end, every zone leader will be delegated an Army officer charged with assisting him in security matters and in the intervention of security forces.

Two, a patronage committee will be set up in every zone, and will be charged with administrative problems and security forces to restore the peace. The committee will consist of a government member [as heard], a National Assembly member, a National Security Council member, and a field officer of the Armed Forces or the Gendarmerie.

Three, there will be a gradual reduction in military checkpoints and a placing of intervention groups on alert in the barracks, so that these forces can quickly swing into action to rescue the populace at the request of the administrative authorities, or in case of emergency.

Concerning some foreigners, particularly groups of young Rwandans who sow insecurity, the government must strictly apply the laws in force at the national and international levels.

In conclusion, the National Security Council called upon all the Burundian people to commit themselves fully to the return of peace and reconciliation. If this is not done, our motherland will inexorably head towards its destruction. [end recording]

Cameroon

Foreign Minister Warns of War 'At Any Time' With Nigeria

LD2603093994 Paris Radio France International in French 0630 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] The Cameroon Foreign Minister Ferdinand Oyono, currently in Addis Ababa for the OAU talks, has said that war between Cameroon and Nigeria can break out at any time over the Bakassi peninsula. He said he was not satisfied with the OAU recommendations which, despite urging troop withdrawal from the peninsula, have refrained from condemning the Abuja regime as Yaounde expected. According to Oyono, the Cameroon and Nigerian armies are now facing each other and are only 300 meters apart.

Tanzania

President Mwinyi Condemns Events in Burundi

EA2503203094 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has strongly condemned the killings in Burundi, which were carried out by soldiers against unarmed citizens. He said that they should cease what they are doing immediately. In talks with a special envoy of President Cyprien Ntaryamira of Burundi, who delivered a message this evening at State House in Dar es Salaam, President Mwinyi said that the Tanzanians had received the reports about the continued killings in Burundi with a great deal of sadness. He said that the government could not remain silent while such injustices continued to be perpetrated in a neighboring country.

He said that, under any circumstances, whatever happened in Burundi affected Tanzania and other neighboring countries. He said that it was for this reason that he had contacted the leaders of the east and central African countries to seek an urgent solution, in cooperation with the OAU.

For his part, the Burundian envoy, Mr. Severin Mfatiye, who is also the ambassador of Burundi in Rwanda, briefed President Mwinyi at length about the grave and deplorable security situation in Burundi.

Calls For Urgent Meeting

EA2603203094 Zanzibar Voice of Tanzania in Swahili 1600 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has called for an urgent meeting of all of Burundi's neighboring countries to be convened in order to prepare for joint efforts to help to end the ethnic conflict and the killing of the Burundian people.

According to a statement issued by President Mwinyi's press spokesman, Ndugu (Patrick Shikola), President Mwinyi said that he would also hold talks with the Organization of African Unity, OAU, in order to immediately end the bloodshed in Burundi.

President Mwinyi added that Tanzania would not remain silent while the Burundian people continued to kill each other indiscriminately.

Ugandan Head Wants Conference

EA2703153094 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania External Service in English 1000 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Excerpt] President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda has proposed a regional conference to discuss the escalating tribal violence in Burundi. Addressing the press in Kampala on his return home from a brief visit to Tanzania, Mr. Museveni suggested that the leaders of Tanzania, Uganda, Kenya, Zaire, and Zambia hold a meeting immediately to find a lasting solution to the

Burundi conflict. He said the formerly minor historical issue in Burundi had over the decades been complicated by mismanagement. The Ugandan leader blamed some foreign countries for the mismanagement of affairs in both Burundi and Rwanda. [passage omitted]

Uganda

Museveni Assures Citizens of Election Honesty, Security

EA2803101494 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 0412 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Address to the nation by President Yoweri Museveni; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Fellow Ugandans, the 28th day of March 1994 is the day when elections for the Constituent Assembly [CA] will take place. It is an important day for our country as it marks the culmination of a long process in our people's participation to make a new constitution, a constitution that will lay a firm foundation for a democratic governance and ensure a stable future for our country. You started this process when you presented your views in your constitutional memoranda to the Constituent Assembly commission. Now the time has come to elect those who will represent your views in the Constituent Assembly.

I, therefore, appeal to you fellow Ugandans who registered to vote to turn out in large numbers and vote. By turning out to vote in big numbers, you will ensure that the right people get elected to represent your views in the Constituent Assembly.

The NRM [National Resistance Movement] government is committed to ensuring that we have successful Constituent Assembly elections. As you know, part of the turmoil our country has gone through has been on account of rigged elections. Rigging elections means robbing the will of the people to chart out their own future and to determine their own destiny.

Therefore, the NRM government is determined to ensure that no rigging takes place in these elections. We passed the Constituent Assembly statute in the NRC [National Resistance Council] with this in mind. Where, for example, there used to be a number of ballot boxes, we have provided for one. Where casting a ballot would be done in a voting booth where all types of electoral mischiefs could be committed, we have provided that voting be done in full view of the people but far enough to ensure secrecy for the voter. Where ballot papers would be ferried to be counted at one central point, we have provided that counting of votes must be done at the polling station and on the same day. In an effort to prevent gerrymandering of constituencies, we have provided that the county should be the best constituency unit.

All this and more is evidence of our resolve to put to an end the bad habit of rigging elections. I am informed, however, that a good number of our people are already addicted to election rigging, that it is almost impossible, according to these people, to conduct free elections. Complaints about partisan returning officers and presiding officers who violate every requirement for impartiality have reached me. I am appealing to these people and also warning them to change their ways and act in an impartial manner as is expected of them and as the law provides; otherwise, the full force of the law will be brought down on any electoral official who misconducts himself or herself in the performance of his or her duties.

I also call upon the RC's [Resistance Councils] to document every malpractice they may witness in the performance of duties by the returning officers or presiding officers so that they make it available to the legal machinery after the elections or even during the elections. We shall not condone or give quarter to anyone who engages in electoral malpractices.

I have been assured that sufficient preparations have been made to ensure the smooth holding of these elections. In a society such as ours, where technological and communications problems prevail, it may not be possible to rule out possible last-minute hitches here and there. Where such unforeseen problems arise, the commissioner of the Constituent Assembly will no doubt put in place practical measures consistent with the CA statute.

I have heard that there are fears in some quarters that some people may disrupt these elections. I wish to assure the whole country that security measures are well in place and no one will be able to disrupt these elections. Anyone who harbors the idea of disrupting these elections and tries to do so will be dealt with decisively. Please take no heed of anybody spreading this kind of rumor, but instead go to the polling station and vote for the candidate of your choice.

To the CA candidates: (?Put) an end your long and hard struggle to win the hearts of the people for your election. All of you cannot win and inevitably, many of you are

bound to lose. Therefore, those of you who lose should know that it is the verdict of the people and should respect it. And those of you who win should appreciate the responsibility that the people have entrusted to you and the challenge that this entails. I wish you all successful CA elections. Thank you very much.

Grenades Thrown at Tourism Minister 25 Mar

EA2603151994 Kampala Radio Uganda Network in English 1300 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] The deputy central government representative in Mbale, Mr. Henry Rwigyemera, has strongly condemned the political thuggery exhibited yesterday by some political reactionaries who tried to assassinate the minister of tourism, wildlife, and antiquity, Mr. James Wapakkaulo, last night, by throwing two hand grenades at his vehicles, killing one person and injuring 14 others, two of them critically.

One grenade was aimed at two vehicles belonging to the minister and his supporters and another at a minibus belonging to one of the minister's supporters.

Talking to a Kampala Radio Uganda Network reporter by telephone from Mbale, Mr. Rwigyemera assured the people of Mbale and the entire country that government authorities in Mbale have zeroed on those reactionaries and security precautions have been maximally undertaken to ensure that such acts of thuggery do not occur again, and that elections are not disrupted at all.

He disclosed that they are aware that the target area for the thugs are Mbale municipality, Bubulo east and west constituencies and Manjya County. He said the cause of these is that the reactionaries have realized that they are in for a shock on Monday [28 March], contrary to the fallacy that Bugisu and eastern Uganda are their power base. He said that the thugs have also realized that the people can no longer be manipulated.

The central government representative expressed condolence to the relatives of the young man who was killed in the attack. He also expressed sympathy to the relatives of those who were injured.

Tension Between De Klerk, Mandela Reportedly Increasing

MB2703105394 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Mar 94 p 4

[Report by political correspondent Edyth Bulbring]

[Text] As the inauguration of the new president of South Africa draws near, the relationship between outgoing President F.W. de Klerk and his likely successor, ANC [African National Congress] leader Nelson Mandela, has plummeted.

It appears from public statements that Mr Mandela is finding it difficult to contain his impatience and contempt for Mr de Klerk's handling of national affairs.

Tension between the leaders stems primarily from a disagreement as to who should dictate the course of action to be taken in the weekly crises that have been occurring during the pre-election period.

It was evident two weeks ago during the crisis in Bophuthatswana, and it showed itself again at a press conference in Pretoria on Thursday over the impending crisis in kwaZulu.

Mr Mandela made it quite plain two weeks ago that he was not satisfied with the agreement Mr de Klerk obtained from Bophuthatswana's former president, Lucas Mangope, that he would participate in the elections.

It did not follow that this implied co-operation in allowing free and fair elections to take place, he said. He was not satisfied, and insisted that IEC [Independent Election Committee] chairman Judge Johann Kriegler be sent to Bophuthatswana to secure these assurances from Mr Mangope.

As it turned out, Mr Mandela was right, and his concerns that Mr de Klerk dismissed so confidently were in this case justified.

Not only did Mangope start making noises that he would renege on his agreement on participation in the elections, but he could not give satisfaction to Judge Kriegler that he would co-operate with the IEC.

The handling of the crisis in kwaZulu has once again drawn the two men together—to argue and to disagree.

On Thursday Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk could not agree on the course of action to be taken in the violence-ridden homeland. Mr Mandela wanted swift action; Mr de Klerk wanted to hold back a little longer.

After the meeting, Mr Mandela referred at great length to the attack that Mr de Klerk made on ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who had called for the TEC [Transitional Executive Council] to replace the kwaZulu government with an administrator.

"Unfortunately, Mr de Klerk has not acted like a state president who himself is interested in ensuring that there should be free and fair elections in that province," Mr Mandela said. "He has acted not like a state president but like a petty politician who is concerned with electioneering and is ignoring major national issues facing our country."

He also accused Mr de Klerk of refusing to address the question that the kwaZulu government was using state funds to destabilise the elections.

"We regard this statement as cheap politicking, and it is for that reason that I think the people of South Africa are determined to throw out the National Party in the elections," Mr Mandela said.

"I am completely disgusted," he continued.

"I have refrained from handling matters in a way that will complicate Mr de Klerk's own problems. I don't get a similar response and cooperation from him. I totally condemn the manner in which he is handling national issues."

Mr de Klerk has not responded to this latest attack.

AVF's Hartzenberg Addresses Pretoria Rally

MB2703115094 Pretoria Radio Pretoria in Afrikaans 1147 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Address by AVF leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg at Church Square in Pretoria, date not given—recorded; passages within slantlines in English]

[Text] The Honorable chairman, members of the Executive Committee, members of the National Representative Council, members of the council, representatives of member organizations of the Volksfront National Front, and honorable fellow citizens. This massive demonstration this morning is proof that a turning point has been reached in the history of South Africa. [applause] Ladies and gentlemen, this massive demonstration this morning has shown clearly and fearlessly that we are united in our attempt to preserve our freedom. Ladies and gentlemen—that we are united in saying that we will not give up our right to self-determination, that we are united in our will to establish our own state and to govern that state. Friends, I think what has happened here this morning demonstrates to the world, which thinks that the Afrikaner nation has been flattened, but it is heartening to see the Afrikaner nation demonstrating here this morning. The people are standing up in its quest for freedom and in its quest for self-determination in its own state.

Sir, this is the uniting factor, which binds this nation together today, but there is more than this. There is another factor uniting us and this is the factor, and this is the most important, and this is the overwhelming one, that we are not only united in our quest for freedom, but

we are united in our courage before the king of all kings, and this brings our nation together.

Sir, the freedom—we have not stolen this from anyone. We did not get this at anyone's expense. This freedom is granted to every other nation in the world and now it is expected of the Afrikaner nation to voluntarily give up its freedom. The answer we give today is: It will never happen that we will give up our freedom. [applause]

Sir, even the United Nations, the whole world recognizes the right to self-determination of nations. In South Africa we have nations who have self-determination—the Swazis, the Sothos—in Africa we have nations with the right to self-determination, but the Afrikaner nation, the Zulu nation, the Tswana nation, and other nations have to be subjected because it does not fit in with communists' plans for these people to be free.

For this reason, Mr. Chairman, what we want to legally protect today is something we have. We are not on a campaign to conquer anything. We have our freedom and we are not a conquered nation, we have self-determination. We have a country. We are not conquering anything. We are here together to tell the world: Here stands the Afrikaner nation, and we are not an aggressive nation committing aggressive deeds. We are not a nation trying to establish anarchy. We are not a nation that has left a trail of blood behind us in this country, like the Americans and the Australians. We built up this land with patriotism, with love, with dedication, and sacrifice and sweat and blood, and we are here to protect that to which we are rightfully entitled, and not to give it up, and this we will not allow them to take away. [applause]

Mr. Chairman, we are gathered here today to tell each other: We are here to publicly show our united national will and to undertake to each other that we will protect this freedom and these rights with everything at our disposal until we die or triumph. This we undertake to each other.

Ladies and gentlemen, the big question is—one of the big questions: What is the threat to this nation. What is the threat to our nation, //and ladies and gentlemen, I would like to deal with this threat in English, because I've got in my possession a document of the South African Communist Party [SACP], and it deals with Operation Sunrise, which is an extension of Operation Vula. And in this document they say the dangers for them, one of the dangers, which will ensure that they do not achieve their goals—if the agenda of the South African Communist Party is exposed to the international community, and therefore I challenge the press today. If you want a communist government in South Africa, then you must remain silent, but if you ... if you object, and if you want to resist to a communist takeover in South Africa then you must expose the plan of the South African Communist Party, not only to the inhabitants of South Africa, but to the whole international community [applause], because sir, this ... this plan is taking place and is

developing in South Africa, and in this document it is stated. It deals with Operation Sunrise, under the heading, yes, danger for us and that you must expose to the world.

//Their aims: Our main objective which was and still is to seize power. Our underground structures—their underground structures—will have to deliver during this period. We must secure a two-thirds majority. A big event just before the elections will help greatly, perhaps similar to the death of Hani, will do it for us. The anger that such an event will precipitate amongst the people will serve as a powerful stimulus, say for instance the death of Mandela. If there is anything sinister about his death it would suit us at that stage.

//They say the South African Communist Party is firmly in control of the ANC [African National Congress]. We secure a leadership position in the ANC, COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions], SANCO [South African National Civic Organization], and in the Women's League and other organizations. The ANC will in actual fact be our shadow parliament. The ANC will be there. Their strategies: We at the same time launch Operation Sunrise, this strategy is based more or less on the Vula formula. Ciskei was to be a test ground for the insurrectionists within our party. The aim was to develop a domino effect, of partial interaction in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, and kwaZulu. Venda and Transkei were ours already, and if we could manipulate events so that the other three collapsed, it would be possible to instigate a national insurrection.//

//It has happened. We have witnessed it. It has happened. They said: Destroy the security force, then we embark on a full program to weaken their security powers. Operation Hunter, inter alia, with Operation Hunter we hope to get rid of the bad elements in the police. That is happening in front of your eyes—to establish a communist state in three phases. Phase one until after the elections, second phase will start right after the elections. Transformation from capitalism to socialism will take place during the second phase. Want to restruct in order to ... [pauses] The capitalists want to reconstruct in order to make profit. That is, of course, not our aim. We want to use reconstruction to transform South Africa into a worker state. Phase three, once the socialist struggle has been completed the third and final phase will start, in order to transform our socialist South Africa into a classless, communist state. We cannot allow farmers to own land that belongs to the people. The Afrikaner homeland will never be allowed.//

Sir, this is the strategy and this is the plan of the South African Communist Party, and it is being realized in front of your eyes, step for step, without any exception. What can we deduce from this? This revolutionary, communist takeover is unfolding according to plan, and now we ask the question: Why is the government allowing this? Because, Sir, if we have this information at our disposal then the government also has this information at its disposal. The reason it is allowing this is

because it is a willing partner to the execution of this plan. Sir, and I challenge the government and the state president, if you want to be a willing partner why did you not at least inform the people of South Africa about this plan unfolding now, one which you must be aware of. Why did you not at least inform the people. Sir, we see in advertisements the electorate is supporting the ANC and the SACP, but the government has put them in this position, enabling them to make South Africa a communist state.

Mr. Chairman, with this plan they say a two-thirds majority with or without violence. If they can get it without violence then good, but Sir, to encourage protests and violence in order to intimidate people so that they can win the election—for this reason there is no hope of a free and fair election in South Africa—no hope.

For this reason I want to tell the state president: Sir, it is this constitution, it is this political dispensation he is busy with, it is these revolutionaries setting South Africa alight, and for this reason it is his duty to postpone this election because there will not be a free and fair election in South Africa, because there is still no solution. [applause] There still is no solution for South Africa. Sir, there is no solution, no dispensation which will bring peace.

Sir, I want to ask why the Goldstone Commission is not investigating these evil plans of the South African Communist Party. Why is it not investigating ... [pauses] Sir in this document it is clearly stated: //The struggle against the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] in Natal and the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area must be intensified and it is taking place at this very moment. It is taking place.// But Mr. Chairman, the Goldstone Commission is not investigating this intensification of violence in Natal. No, he is keeping himself busy by discrediting honorable policemen, against whom no charges were laid.

Mr. Chairman, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have already been destabilized. Now the charge is against kwaZulu and the question is Sir: The Goldstone Commission was responsible for this on two occasions—for the destruction of the South African Defense Force and the South African Police's top management structure. Since 1992 a few hundred police and army officers, ranked as Colonels and higher, have been removed from the structures in this manner and the top structure has thus been destabilized. For this reason Mr. Chairman, not one of these men were ever found guilty. A legal, tested, valid complaint has not been lodged against any of them, but these things are happening, and the question now: Is it not time for the Goldstone Commission to be investigated for its role in South Africa. [applause]

Mr. Chairman, with this unfolding communist onslaught and threat to South Africa, the time has come for each

person today to finally choose if he will resist this, if the Afrikaner nation will rise up, or if it will allow this takeover to take root.

For this reason, Sir, I want to say that the decision does not only rest with every farmer, it does not only rest with every housewife or every mother, it rests with every security force member in South Africa, it rests with every state official in South Africa. It is every worker in South Africa who will have to decide if we are to be led to the slaughter in this new South Africa, or if we will enforce our own free, rightful homeland in South Africa.

Sir, these men who marched a short while ago are the BC [Boer Commando] who were formed over a long period as a result of the suppression of the agricultural sector and as a result of the general security threat increasing in intensity. These men will not kneel down to communist domination and we say to these men: We stand with you. We will, together with you, not kneel down. These men have continually contributed to the expansion of the security system of this country and still forms the backbone of this system. They come from within the nation to the defense of the entire nation and in solidarity with our people in our cities. From Monday we will arrange for facilities to be made available at our National Front's head office, concerning registration of members of our nation who are prepared and willing to join this well-disciplined organization.

Mr. Chairman, every fellow countryman has now reached a crossroads. The choice is either freedom in the homeland or subjection in the new South Africa. That is the choice we have, Sir, and I say everyone must choose because one must ask the question, what is the fate of the policeman, the soldier, the civil servant, the worker, the farmer, the entrepreneur in the new South Africa? Mrs. Winnie Mandela said last week at Virginia: //The ANC will give priority to its supporters when it provides jobs after the April election. We will prioritize for our comrades. We are going to provide employment for all of you, starting with the comrades who served in prison for our (?cause).// Starting with the comrades, Sir, that is the situation facing our people, our workers. Not merit, not dedication, not skill, but //comrades who served in prisons in the cause of the South African Communist Party.//

Let me show you how this has been applied in Zimbabwe. In Zimbabwe there are now 26 permanent secretaries who are heads of departments. There are no whites among them. There are 73 deputy secretaries, 3 of them whites. There are 147 under secretaries, with only 11 whites. Twenty-four ambassadors, not one of them white.

Job security, pensions... If there are people in South Africa today who ought to be concerned about their pensions, it is the civil servants. If there are people who have the right to demand the payment of their pensions—and an ANC-SACP government has promised that they will use the pension funds for job creation—

then it is our people, those who will be losing their jobs, whose pensions will be used. They have the right to demand that their pensions be paid out.

Mr. Chairman, double standards are being applied. Our people who are in prison are not granted amnesty, but APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] and MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe—Spear of the Nation; ANC military wing] members who are responsible for murder and terrorism, who are destabilizing Natal against the IFP and others, they are granted amnesty.

So, we say the Afrikaner nation is demanding that their people be granted amnesty, and that they be either charged or released.

Mr. Chairman, we choose the path of freedom in a homeland. We are not taking anything from anyone. We have had the lion's share in the building of this country, and we will not establish our homeland through anarchy. We have never been the aggressor, but we will defend our freedom and all that is justly ours. Sir, we prefer that the solution in South Africa be a peaceful one, but we will not allow ourselves to be forced into surrender by violence.

The Afrikaner has not lived selfishly in this country. We control the production of food. The civil service cannot function without the Afrikaner Boer nation. The factories and the mines cannot function without the Afrikaner Boer nation. The security forces cannot function without the Afrikaner Boer nation. So we demand that we be accommodated. We will not be satisfied with anything less than our rightful freedom and self-determination. If we are not accommodated, if we are pressured, we will not be the ones responsible for the chaos which will ensue. It will be those who are pressuring us. We will never bow to the communists.

Mr. Chairman, we have established our representative council to plan, coordinate, and act on behalf of our people. We are in the process of creating civic councils. These comprise one council with serving councillors elected by our people, and in areas where we do not have representation other people will be appointed. Their task will be to attend to the safety of our people because we are aware of the domino effect. First it was Bophuthatswana, then Ciskei, now it is kwaZulu's turn. The Afrikaner nation is next to be forced into submission through violence. So it will be the task of the civic councils to defend our people, to ensure that our taxes are used for the benefit of our people. If voters have problems, these must be attended to. Pressure must be exercised on the National Party and other councils to see that they act in the interests of the voters, and to set up civic councils in every town. A number of these councils are present here today—Pretoria, Bronkhorstspuit, Brits, Breyten, Akasia, Verwoerdburg, Hartbeespoort, and others.

Our next task has to do with the voice of our people, Radio Pretoria. I ask you, do you accept responsibility for the voice of our people? Do you accept responsibility

for its maintenance? Do you demand that that voice be heard? What is the answer? Do you demand it? It has been established with our money, with our skills. We did not ask for anything from anyone.

Our next step is to set up a security advisory council to see to the overall safety of our people.

We have adopted a constitution for our homeland. A constitution is not merely a document detailing a state's management structure. It is a living document which expresses a nation's character, its being, its deepest convictions, traditions, symbols, and ideals. That is why the French Constitution is different from the Germans. That is why our constitution differs from that of the new South Africa. The major features of our constitution are its commitment to Christianity, with the recognition of the freedom of religion; Afrikaans and English as official languages; a republican form of state; a national assembly consisting of representatives directly elected in general elections; a state president and executive council; independent courts; two levels of government consisting of the national assembly and the local council; citizenship for members of the Boer Afrikaner nation; citizenship as a precondition for the right to vote. Noncitizens are protected under international law and the bill of rights and duties contained in the constitution. Special majorities are needed to amend the constitution, and 51 percent of the members of the national assembly may call a referendum to amend the constitution. Disqualification of members of the assembly who act in defiance of their election mandate. The maintenance of the free market system. The right to private property [words indistinct] the flag and Die Stem [The Voice—present national anthem].

In order to maintain good relations with other nations, we seek a confederal system involving economic cooperation and political independence.

Mr. Chairman, I now move to the important matter of the right of the Afrikaner people to land in South Africa. Nations become independent on their own territory. Between the Second World War and the late eighties no nation became independent, no new state emerged. But since the nineties one new state after another has come into being because nations are becoming free in their own territory.

We have asked for a referendum to determine where the Afrikaners are who wish to be included in a homeland, and where those are who do not wish to be included in that homeland. That was the democratic way of doing things, but it was denied us. So we conducted our own surveys to determine the will of the people, and today we indicate to you soft borders—not final borders—of where our people wish to have their state. In all four provinces of South Africa people have indicated their desire to be part of a homeland. I say to you there are already parts of South Africa which belong to other peoples, which are independent states, self-governing states. There is also farming and urban land belonging to

colored and Indian people. Those areas are not part of the Afrikaner Boer nation's land. There are also parts of the country which are already occupied by other nations, for example the urban areas around Pretoria, around Johannesburg. We do not lay claim to those areas. Then there are some of our people who have indicated that they do not want to be part of the homeland. Those are the people like Carl Niehaus of the ANC and Dawie de Villiers of the National Party. We do not wish to force them to become part of our homeland. We know they choose the new South Africa. To them we say, we grant you the new South Africa, but do not force it upon us, and we are only too eager to get rid of that baggage.

Mr. Chairman, our surveys have shown that the people of Natal, for example—with the exception of northern Natal—have said they do not wish to be part of the new South Africa; they want to share a new dispensation with the Zulus. The people of northern Natal have indicated that they wish to become part of a homeland. That matter will be negotiated with the Zulu nation.

But the Afrikaner Boer nation has an indisputable right to the internationally recognized Boer Republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. We demand that right. It is our inalienable right. So with the exception of those areas which do not belong to us, and with the exception of those areas already occupied by other nations, as I indicated, and with the exception of those areas such as Johannesburg, whose people showed no desire in being part of this new republic of ours... Mr. Chairman, outside these historical areas there are large concentrations of Afrikaners, such as in the Cape Province, who have an age-old right to be part of our homeland. Just as there are people within the two historical republics who do not want to be part of the homeland, so too there are people in the Cape Province who want to be part of it. We say—and our people have already decided so—that Pretoria was historically the capital of the Afrikaner nation, and therefore it must be the capital of the Afrikaner nation's homeland.

In spite of reports in the newspapers, the majority of the people of Pretoria showed in the survey that they wish to be part of the Boer Republic. It is also a fact that in those areas outside the homeland where people have said they do not want to be a part of the homeland, one finds a minority of our compatriots who also want to be part of the homeland, but the overriding opinion of the communities there are against it. So what is their position? We believe they can be citizens of our state, and just as the Jewish nation has a refuge, Afrikaners around the world will have a refuge. They can embrace this homeland. We can serve them, we can negotiate on their behalf. We are going to maintain first-world standards in our homeland, and Afrikaners will have a refuge there.

We seek permanent peace and a permanent, peaceful solution for South Africa. But there is no such thing. It is not in the constitution, it is not on the negotiating table. Chaos is increasing. We want a permanent, peaceful solution. Matthew Chapter 5, Verse 9, reads: Blessed are

the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. What does the present constitution offer? It was drawn up by communists, its drafting was dominated by communists. It is a constitution for communists which totally rejects the authority of God, so we say it is not our duty to respect that which they have created. They are responsible for the chaos. Our task is to bring down the authority of the anti-Christ. Matthew Chapter 5, Verse 11 reads: Blessed are you who are reviled and persecuted for my sake. That is why the Afrikaner has his back to the wall. The Afrikaner is not prepared to surrender his freedom.

Mr. Chairman, this constitution carries the germ of destruction. Wars are waged over land. Wars are waged over ethnicity. Wars are waged over religion. This constitution does not provide for these things. It does not provide land for our people or for others. It does not provide for the self-determination of peoples. It does not provide for us to serve our God in our own land. Provision must be made for this before there can be peace. And not only for our people. Our people and the Zulus want their freedom; others have been forced into submission. Our demands must be accommodated in order that there be peace in South Africa.

The final solution will not be achieved overnight, because they are moving in the wrong direction. If the rights of others to govern themselves are recognized, the stranglehold will ease and South Africa will achieve peace. We know we will again be free; when and how depends on the nation. We have gathered here today to demonstrate that our desire remains unchanged. We have demonstrated here today that we are continuing along the road to freedom, to self-determination in our own homeland.

Throughout the history of our struggle for freedom we know that no other nation has ever come to our assistance. Our people have always had only one refuge to turn to, and that has been the King of Kings. We seek no enmity with any nation or country, but we commit ourselves today irrevocably to the Holy Trinity. We know that, as in the past, under God's guidance, our people will arrive in our homeland, free under our own flag, as a free nation, to serve our Creator.

I ask you all, friends, that we accept this declaration of intent. We, as representatives of the Boer Afrikaner nation gathered here today, believe totally that God the Holy Trinity determines the fate of nations and therefore our fate. And because we believe, in accordance with internationally accepted norms and principles, that it is the God-given right of every nation and therefore our nation's right to be free; and because we are convinced that peace can only be assured if every peace-loving nation is allowed to govern itself; and because the Boer Afrikaner nation will never accept subjection, enslavement, or tyranny from any foreign authority; and because the nation is determined, with all the means at its disposal, even with its blood, to restore its freedom in its own fatherland: Therefore we declare here and now

that it is our firm intention, if allowed, to peacefully govern ourselves before 27 April 1994 in our own independent state through the structures already created for that purpose.

But at the same time, if we are not allowed to declare the freedom of the Boer Afrikaner nation in a peaceful manner, we commit ourselves, and undertake hereby, to reestablish and confirm the freedom of the Boer Afrikaner nation with whatever means at our disposal, against anyone who threatens the freedom of the nation or in any way whatsoever attempts to interfere with it. We declare this for and on behalf of the Afrikaner nation.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to rise [words indistinct] support me in this undertaking [words indistinct] attach it to the front door of the Old Council Chamber where our nation's government met, and where our nation's government will again meet in the future. I thank you.

Mandela Suffering From Laryngitis, Cancels Engagements

MB2503080594 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0700 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Report by E. Oelofse]

[Text] Johannesburg March 25 SAPA—African National Congress [ANC] President Nelson Mandela has, on advice from his doctor, cancelled all his engagements for Friday and the weekend. According to an ANC statement, Mr Mandela is suffering from laryngitis and has "decided to rest".

Transkei's military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa will stand in for Mr Mandela in the Eastern Cape on Friday. It is not known who will fill Mr Mandela's engagements on Saturday and Sunday.

Nuclear Scientists Threaten To Reveal 'Guarded Secrets'

MB2703102194 Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 27 Mar 94 p 1-2

[Report by Peter de Ionno]

[Text] Disgruntled South African nuclear and rocket scientists are threatening to expose closely guarded secrets about the country's arms programme unless they are paid R[Rand]4.5-million in retrenchment benefits.

A spokesman claiming to represent 16 scientists admitted this week the threat amounted to blackmail.

"We want a settlement but negotiation has failed and we don't want to have to take this to the industrial court. Our disclosures will prove embarrassing for Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa], Denel (an off-shoot of Armscor) and the Nationalist government," he warned.

The group has unreleased details about South Africa's past co-operation with Israel on missile technology. Some of this challenges claims by President F.W. de Klerk last year that he had come clean on the country's nuclear story.

The 16 scientists are preparing an appeal to the industrial court in which they are demanding two years' salaries and benefits from Denel.

They were retrenched with two months' notice from Advena, a Denel subsidiary, on April 15 last year. They claim they were promised another two year's work.

The spokesman, who asked not to be named at present, said their firsthand information would identify sources of specialised equipment for nuclear bombs in the United Kingdom, France and Germany.

He also claimed Israel supplied rock technology and details of a process which transformed a satellite launcher into a nuclear ballistic missile.

And in a move which could realise the arms industry's greatest fear—nuclear weapons scientists selling secrets to rogue nations or terrorists—the spokesman said the group would construct bombs for anyone, if their salaries were guaranteed.

When Mr de Klerk announced the destruction of South Africa's nuclear capability a year ago, he was adamant that no foreign help was used in the weapons' programme. But he made no mention of missile delivery capability.

Now the spokesman for the maverick scientists claims South Africa's defunct space programme was originally intended to use a clone of the Israeli Jericho II two-stage solid fuel missile to deliver nuclear weapons.

Two all-terrain mobile launchers were built and tested at Armscor's proving group at Advena in 1988 and 1989. They were never used. The missile, last codenamed RSA3, was only fired in static tests.

The spokesman said more than 200 South Africans visited Israel covertly and worked on the missile programme between 1989 and 1992.

In a multi-million rand deal, Israel had sold South Africa a system of explosives that could stop the missile in mid-flight at a predetermined point, allowing it to fall on to a target city with an accuracy of less than one kilometre.

In October 1989, publicly expressed concerns by US officials, including President George Bush, about Israeli and South African collaboration on a medium-range nuclear missile were denied by both countries.

The spokesman said that after the initial 18-kiloton (18,000 tons of TNT) "dirty" bombs were completed,

development of more powerful nuclear weapons continued in secret at SADF [South African Defense Force] insistence until late 1989 when Mr de Klerk ordered that the programme be stopped.

These more powerful nuclear weapons included thermo-nuclear hydrogen bombs.

"What is the deterrent value of a 20-kiloton bomb when your enemy is threatening you with a 100-kiloton bomb?" the scientist asked.

The spokesman, who identified himself as a supporter of the right wing, said: "Some of us and many in the SADF [South African Defense Force] strongly believed that a couple of bombs should have been held back and kept in white hands."

The spokesman said: "I am not ashamed of what we did, but I cannot get a job. We are treated like outcasts. We are South Africa's nuclear casualties."

He had applied for 50 jobs and five of the rest of the group were unemployed.

The international implications of the scientists' threats are severe. Revealing suppliers would tarnish South Africa's credibility in the secrecy-obsessed international arms market and cause controversy in the countries involved.

The involvement of South African expertise in outlaw weapons programme would raise great international concern and possible conflict with the International Atomic Energy Agency, which has overseen South Africa's nuclear rehabilitation.

A Denel spokesman confirmed yesterday that 16 employees were contesting termination of their service. Negotiations had failed because of their "unfounded and unreasonable claims and expectations".

Intimidation through the media left Denel disillusioned at the conduct of people "with high technology standing for whom Denel has only the highest regard and sympathy," the spokesman said.

Official Comments

MB2703202694 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2010
GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] Johannesburg March 27 SAPA—Any "disgruntled nuclear and rocket scientist", who disclosed information about South Africa's nuclear weapons programme, would be liable to charges under legislation preventing the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] said in a statement on Sunday.

Armscor was responding to a Sunday newspaper report which said nuclear scientists in a salary dispute with Armscor had threatened to reveal as yet undisclosed information about South Africa's past cooperation with Israel.

The report said the 16 scientists charged that they had been promised two years' employment with local armament manufacturer Denel, but were retrenched with only two months' notice.

Reacting to these allegations, Armscor said the 16 former employees only had limited know-how of nuclear devices. Armscor reaffirmed there was no international cooperation on the development and manufacture of South Africa's nuclear devices.

The statement said Armscor also endorsed the principles of the international non-proliferations bodies on not disclosing information which could lead to the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

'Scores' of Zulus With Traditional Weapons in Johannesburg

MB2803065594 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0626
GMT 28 Mar 94

[Report by R. Norton and G. van Oudtshoorn]

[Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—Scores of Zulus—many armed with traditional weapons—began making their way to Johannesburg's Library Gardens on Monday morning in answer to a call by indunas [chiefs] to rally in support of King Goodwill Zwelithini. A group of mostly male marchers could be seen making their way down Commissioner Street. Pedestrians stayed clear of the marchers.

The rally follows a call made on Saturday by the Transvaal deputy chairman of Zulu indunas, Joseph Zulu, who appealed to Zulus to stay away from work on Monday and rally at the Library Gardens in support of King Goodwill. He said the rally was to express support for the Zulu king's demand for a sovereign kingdom in Natal and opposition to the interim constitution.

Mr Zulu said "Zulus" were also demanding President F. W. de Klerk reply to King Zwelithini's letter on the sovereignty issue. Also on Saturday, traditional leader Induna Sikhumbuzo Mabizela told a press conference in Johannesburg a meeting of indunas in the Transvaal had decided on the rally. It was scheduled for 9 AM on Monday.

Mr Mabizela said: "We support the claim of King Zwelithini to his land. We totally reject the constitution of F. W. de Klerk and his colleagues of Kempton Park. We will fight to the last atom of our strength if the king's demands are not met."

Soweto Township Exits Barricaded

MB2803070894 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 0620 GMT 28 Mar 94

[From the "Radio Today" program presented by Rodney Trudgeon]

[Text] [Trudgeon] Thousands of Soweto commuters were prevented from getting to Johannesburg this morning as roads leading out of this area were barricaded. We have on the line a resident from Soweto, Chris Mabuye. Good morning, Mr. Mabuye. What exactly was the problem?

[Mabuye] The streets are barricaded, you know, and exits towards the city.

[Trudgeon] All the exits?

[Mabuye] Most exits. I mean, we have got one, the Main Reef Road, which is from the Potchefstroom highway, which is completely sealed. People have to use the Eldorado Park-Kliptown road to come into town.

[Trudgeon] What are they barricaded with, Chris?

[Mabuye] Stones, cars, you know, wrecked cars that are broken, and all that.

[Trudgeon] What is the reason for this?

[Mabuye] The reason is the march for Zulus, marching today.

[Trudgeon] And have there been any signs of any tension or trouble or...

[Mabuye] Well, a lot of people have been injured. I believe there are two deaths already on the road.

[Trudgeon] How did that happen?

[Mabuye] One was shot, the other one was hit by a stone.

[Trudgeon] So are most commuters then trapped in Soweto at the moment?

[Mabuye] Yes. Some are not even able to come out.

[Trudgeon] Is there a police presence?

[Mabuye] Yes, they have just come in now.

[Trudgeon] And what is happening now as I am talking to you?

[Mabuye] The people are afraid because of the barricades. They cannot maneuver through the barricades. And another thing is that the Carlton Center, it's like almost what happened in Mafikeng. There's a lot of shooting there, and people are running for their lives.

[Trudgeon] Has this just happened this morning?

[Mabuye] This morning.

[Trudgeon] So it's a surprise to all the residents?

[Mabuye] Yes, and we have two buses from Alberton which were—how do I put it—were stoned, their windcreens were smashed out.

[Trudgeon] And you've no idea who is responsible for this?

[Mabuye] It's the youth, black youths that were running amok.

[Trudgeon] Thank you, Chris. That's Chris Mabuye, a resident of Soweto. And when contacted, the police confirmed that there were problems in the township, but that details were sketchy at this stage.

Stores, Banks Close

MB2803080494 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0726
GMT 28 Mar 94

[Report by Lew Elias]

[Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—At least four people were shot in central Johannesburg during a rally of Zulus marching through the city to demonstrate support for King Goodwill Zwelithini. A man was shot in the leg, allegedly by sniper fire, in Jeppe Street at about 8.15 AM as a group of between 10 and 15 marchers moved down the main CBD [central business district] thoroughfare in the rush-hour traffic. As the group was between Delfers and Von Weilligh Streets between eight and 10 shots rang out. Pedestrians on the pavements fled into the nearest doorway or building entrance and within seconds of the shots being fired the normally busy street was deserted for the entire block.

One man was wounded in the leg and a motorist, Lawrence Mavundla—a priest at the nearby St Mary's Cathedral, had a narrow escape as a bullet pierced the radiator of his car.

In Commissioner Street at least three people were wounded when a larger group of marchers travelled down the main street. Two women and a man were shot outside the Kine Centre as the marchers approached the giant office and cinema complex. A policeman at the scene said they were most probably shot by shopkeepers anxious about destruction of property and looting. Two of the wounded, a man and a woman—both shot in the leg, managed to get to the Market Street entrance to the Small Street mall—a block away. The third, a middle-aged woman, was loaded into an ambulance in Commissioner Street with unknown injuries.

When another group of 400 marchers came down Commissioner Street about six heavy-calibre shots rang out at about 9.30 AM. As the group marched down the streets informal sector hawkers' kiosks were robbed.

In Jeppe Street, handfuls of traditional weapons—heavy sticks, home-made spears and iron pipes—were found near the scene of the shooting and handed to the police. The weapons were dropped after the burst of automatic gunfire which wounded one man.

People living in flats in Delfers Street around the scene of the shooting crowded on balconies to see what was happening as shop owners closed their doors to barricade themselves in.

Stores and banks in the Smal Street mall were being closed and evacuated in the wake of the early morning city unrest. A staff member at the branch of the Allied Bank in the mall, where a man was to have been treated for a gunshot wound, told SAPA: "If you want anything, ask head office—I'm out of here. We have evacuated the place."

1 Killed, 7 Wounded in Zulu March

MB2803095094 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0936 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—A man was killed and at least seven others were wounded in violence surrounding a march by tens of thousands of Zulus into the Johannesburg city centre on Monday morning, police said. Shots, which killed the man and wounded another, were fired from a cafe near the corner of Jules and Market Streets.

In other incidents a black woman was shot in the legs near the corner of Smal and Bree Streets from a group carrying traditional weapons. Shots were fired at a police patrol by men in a group of Zulu marchers near the corner of Delvers and Von Wielligh Streets. Police returned fire with rubber bullets and arrested a man with an illegal firearm. They also arrested a man with an unlicensed firearm on the corner of De Beer and Main Streets.

Security guards wounded two people who stormed into the city centre office of African National Congress [ANC] Spokesman Obed Bapela, the ANC and police confirmed.

A man was seriously injured when people with traditional weapons assaulted him near the corner of Commissioner and Kruis Streets. Another man is in a serious condition after he was stabbed by people carrying traditional weapons at Denver railway station.

A man was injured in a panga [large knife] attack near the corner of John Page and Main Streets. A man was seriously injured in an attack near the corner of Market and Polly Streets.

Several assaults were reported on the corner of Main and McIntyre Streets. A policeman was assaulted and robbed of his firearm near the corner of Kapteijn and Claim Streets.

Correspondent Describes 'Chaos'

MB2803110194 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1035 GMT 28 Mar 94

[From the "Newsbrief" program, presented by Patricia Glyn]

[Text] [Glyn] We have Barry Claassen on the line, reporting for Newsbrief from the Library Gardens in central Johannesburg. Barry, can you hear me?

[Claassen] I can hear you.

[Glyn] Barry, can you tell us, where were those shots coming from? It seemed to be unclear when you last spoke to us.

[Claassen] Well, it appears that there are snipers on the rooftops, shooting down into the crowds. The police are shooting back with what appear to be 9 mm pistols. I personally came across a man lying in the street. It looked as if he'd been shot in the head, blood pouring out of his head, and he wasn't moving. We've now heard an unconfirmed report of about 15 people being shot. How many of those have been killed, I don't know, but as you might hear in the background, there's still sporadic gunfire being heard. At the moment it's very chaotic, with people crowding into shop doorways and trying to keep down. It's total, it's complete chaos here.

[Glyn] Are any of the snipers on top of the city council building?

[Claassen] Not that we can see. Some of the high buildings, but not the city council building at this stage, but anything is possible. You know, you can't always make out where the shots are coming from, but I did see snipers up on the buildings. Who they are, I'm not quite sure.

[Glyn] But the crowd is making no attempt to disperse? Do I understand that?

[Claassen] At the moment, not. I think they most probably might be too terrified to move away, so what they're doing is, they're lying down on the pavement.

[Glyn] Barry, I'm sure we'll hear from you again, but do take care of yourself.

Minister Comments on Reinforcements

MB2803110794 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1055 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] Pretoria March 28 SAPA—Police reinforcements were being sent to Johannesburg to contain the violence and bring the situation under control as soon as possible, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Monday. "In view of the extremely serious situation in central Johannesburg the king of the Zulus must be urged to exercise his influence to calm and control his subjects," Mr Kriel said in a statement to SAPA in reaction to the eruption of violence around a Zulu march on the city centre.

"This violence illustrates how lack of control over supporters creates violence and that political intolerance and indiscipline have emerged as the single biggest threat to free and fair elections. Due to the seriousness of the situation I have requested the SA Police to urgently send reinforcements to contain the violence and bring the situation under control," he added.

SADF: No Army Units Called

*MB2803113494 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1127
GMT 28 Mar 94*

[Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—A spokesman for the SADF's [South African Defense Force] Witwatersrand Command said no army units had been called to Johannesburg's city centre to help contain violence surrounding the Zulu march in the central business district on Monday morning. Maj Christo Visser said soldiers were lending assistance to police in Soweto's Meadowlands where violence had apparently flared up on Monday morning.

14 Killed, 50 Injured

*MB2803114094 Johannesburg Radio South Africa
Network in English 1100 GMT 28 Mar 94*

[Text] At least 14 people have been killed and 50 injured during violent incidents linked to a march by thousands of Zulus in the Johannesburg city center. The police said the injuries ranged from gunshot wounds to serious hack- and stab wounds.

Reporters at the scene have described scenes of chaos, with several bodies lying in the streets. Police say thousands of people are still streaming into the city to join the march. The march is to protest against next month's elections, and to show support for a Zulu kingdom.

The marchers apparently plan to proceed towards the offices of the Independent Electoral Commission. Business in the CBD [central business district] has come to a complete halt, and the Johannesburg Traffic Department has advised motorists to avoid the city center. People in office blocks have been advised to remain inside the buildings.

We have just heard that the police have returned the fire of shots which were fired from rooftops in the city center a short while ago. Several people appear to have been hit by gunfire.

Another report says that at least five people were shot dead and eight wounded when Zulu marchers engaged ANC [African National Congress] security guards at the ANC's Shell House head office in Plein Street. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus told SAPA [SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION] that there had been attempts by armed men to enter the building. He said security guards at Shell House had fired warning shots in the air, but were forced to open fire in self-defense.

Sharpshooters Reportedly Fire on Zulu Marchers

*MB2803064694 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0637
GMT 28 Mar 94*

[Report by Lew Elias]

[Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—At least one Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] supporter was seriously wounded as what are believed to be sharp shooters

opened fire on a march in support of the Zulu king in Jeppe Street, Johannesburg, on Monday. Eight to 10 shots rang out as a small group of marchers came down Jeppe Street about 8.15 on Monday.

One man lay sprawled on the pavement between Delfers and Von Weilligh Streets as police, firearms drawn, combed first floor balconies searching for the attackers. One of the shots hit the car of a priest working at St Mary's Anglican Cathedral nearby.

The priest, Lawrence Mavundla, said, "I just heard the shots, I heard my car get hit. I got out of it and ran, leaving the car in the middle of the street."

The car was abandoned for about 10 minutes before being removed by city officials. The radiator had been punctured.

ANC Rejects Sniper Shooting at Zulu Marchers

*MB2803075194 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0730
GMT 28 Mar 94*

[Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] has rejected police suggestions that a sniper, apparently aiming at a Zulu march, was responsible for the early Monday Jeppe Street shooting. ANC Regional Office Deputy General Secretary Obed Bapela said that when the marchers got outside the organisation's offices they had stopped and begun hurling abuse at the ANC. They were also brandishing guns, Mr Bapela alleged.

As the ANC's security retreated "there was a burst of gunfire", in which one man was wounded. Mr Bapela said he did not know who the gunfire had come from. "We want to dismiss the police story that there was a sniper in this building."

The ANC had agreed to co-operate with police in allowing them to carry out ballistic tests on the security guards' weapons, he said. The ANC earlier telephoned SAPA to say its regional office was being "attacked".

Police told SAPA's reporter on the scene minutes after the shooting, however, it appeared as if the wounded man had been hit by a sniper who had been aiming at the marchers.

By 9.20 AM, with the bulk of the Zulu marchers still due to arrive at their kick-off venue at the Library Gardens, a state of near-hysteria seemed to hang over Johannesburg.

Security personnel hovered around with walkie-talkies, merchants gossiped in little groups in their shops, work apparently forgotten, and SAP [South African Police] officers patrolled four abreast. The streets, for this time of the day, remain relatively deserted.

Mr Bapela said he and ANC PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] General Secretary Tokyo Sexwale would be doing a helicopter fly past to "assess the situation".

ANC Security Guards Allegedly Kill 5, Wound 8 Zulu Marchers

MB2803104894 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1037 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] Johannesburg March 28 SAPA—At least five people were shot dead and eight wounded when Zulu marchers engaged African National Congress [ANC] security guards at 11.30 AM at the ANC's Shell House head office in Plein Street, Johannesburg on Monday.

When journalists arrived on the scene at least three of the wounded were being treated at the side of the road after the dead had been removed by police. A tense situation developed outside the building where members of the police's Internal Stability Division and SA [South African] Defence Force cordoned off the area. Initial reports said ANC guards shot dead at least five Zulu marchers and wounded eight as they tried to attack the ANC head office.

ANC Spokesman Carl Niehaus told SAPA there had been "attempts by armed men to enter the building". "There have also been reports of people shooting at the ANC headquarters from buildings across the road. Security guards at Shell House fired warning shots in the air but were forced to open fire in self defence," Mr Niehaus added.

IFP Spokesman on ANC Actions

MB2803101694 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1010 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] Durban March 28 SAPA—The Inkatha Freedom Party's [IFP] Ed Tillet claimed on Monday that the African National Congress [ANC] had planted gunmen among Zulu marchers in Johannesburg to discredit Zulus in Transvaal.

Mr Tillet, an IFP spokesman, said: "We've just received information from intelligence sources that the ANC planted snipers in the crowd. There are deliberate plans to discredit Zulus in the Transvaal. The ANC will claim this is an IFP march and this will probably be an attempt to discredit the IFP as well."

He stressed it was not an IFP march but rather one organised by "indunas" [chiefs].

Three Killed, 18 Injured in Attack on Bus in Natal

MB2803064194 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0630 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] We have just heard that there has been an attack on a bus near Tongaat on the Natal north coast, and three people were killed and 18 injured in the attack.

Details of the incident are still sketchy at the moment, but our Durban correspondent is on his way to the scene and we hope to bring you a report before too long.

600 Armed Men Attack Commuters on Train From Pretoria

MB2803071494 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in Afrikaans 0600 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] Six hundred people armed with automatic weapons, assegais, and knobsticks last night attacked and robbed passengers on a train en route from Pretoria to Johannesburg. The attack took place at Oakmore Station northeast of Johannesburg. Police confiscated at least three AK-47 rifles and four pistols when the train was searched at Birchley Station. No arrests have yet been made.

Grenade Blast Injures 2 at East London Textile Factory

MB2803065794 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0600 GMT 28 Mar 94

[Text] We have just heard that a hand grenade has exploded at the Da Gama textile factory outside East London. Two people were injured in the attack, but no further details are known at the moment.

Home of ANC Natal Premiership Candidate Set on Fire

MB2703120294 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] The house of the ANC [African National Congress] premiership candidate in Natal, Mr. Jacob Zuma, has been set on fire by unidentified arsonists. The extent of the damage to the house at Inkandla in northern Natal is not known at this stage. Mr. Zuma has told journalists that his home has long been under threat and that pamphlets alleging a conspiracy against King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus have been distributed in the area.

ANC Condemns Burning of Official's Home

MB2703195694 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1857 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Report by N. Lewis]

[Text] Johannesburg March 27 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] has strongly condemned the torching of ANC Deputy Secretary-General Jacob Zuma's Northern Natal house at the weekend, saying the attack underlined the need for the Transitional Executive Council [TEC] and the government to act decisively to create free political activity in the province. Mr Zuma's house in Nxamalala, near Nkandla, was torched by unknown vandals on Saturday soon after anti-ANC pamphlets were distributed in the area.

In its reaction on Sunday, the ANC charged the attack was the work of those consistently opposed to the

peaceful transition towards democracy in South Africa. "The fact that anti-ANC pamphlets were distributed in the area prior to the attack—and were the same malicious pamphlets distributed in kwaMashu, near Durban, before hostel dwellers attacked B-section last week—indicates that the leaflets were aimed at creating a climate in which Mr Zuma's house would be torched," said ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

"This latest attack underlines the urgency of the need of the TEC in conjunction with the government to act decisively to create a climate for free political activity in Natal and to ensure the success of the democratic process.

"We call on the law enforcement agencies to ensure the killers of our people in Natal and those responsible for the arson at Mr Zuma's house are brought to justice," Mr Mamoepa added.

Ramaphosa Says ANC To 'Impose' Peace on Natal

MB2603110994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1002 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Report by Pierre Claasen]

[Text] Cape Town March 26 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] would impose peace and conditions conducive to free and fair elections on Natal, ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa, said on Saturday. He was the keynote speaker at a Western Cape regional reconstruction and development conference. "We know we are going to stamp freedom on Natal," he said.

"Yesterday the biggest march in the country's history stated clearly that the people of Natal are going to the polls, come rain, come shine and whether (Chief) Buthelezi likes it or not."

The march had brought a great deal of hope. "We are going to install a unique peace in Natal where our people can campaign securely. If (Chief) Buthelezi does not like it, we will impose it on him. We are the ANC—We will call the shots in Natal as we call the shots in the whole country," Mr Ramaphosa said.

He said the Independent Electoral Commission [IEC] was saying it was impossible to hold free and fair elections in Natal even before the election was held. "If the attitude of the kwaZulu government continues then it is not possible to hold free and fair elections there and the IEC will not be able to make such a declaration at the end."

This had propelled the ANC to put pressure on State President F W de Klerk to take steps. "We had talks with him but he ducked and dived out of taking action." The ANC would nevertheless impose peace there.

Mr Ramaphosa said the fact that the NP [National Party] had fielded totally discredited ministers to

become 'provincial premiers' showed it was not serious about transforming the country.

It had nominated Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel for the Western Cape, "while his whole department is deeply immersed in the murder of our people".

In the Eastern Cape it had nominated Dr. Tertius Delpoit whose long relationship with the right wing had almost led him to defect from the NP. In Natal it was Mr George Bartlett. "The NP has no commitment to non-racism or reconstruction in this country." The ANC would expose the tactics and racist slogans it was using. The ANC was daily gaining support for its Reconstruction and Development Program—the most comprehensive document on socio-economic issues ever developed in the history of the country. "One of the central reasons for people being attracted is because they can see we have a plan to address the ills and evils that have been visited on our people by apartheid. The entire leadership is behind this programme and declaring it will be implemented whether FW (de Klerk) and the NP like it or not."

Province 'On Brink of Full-Scale War'

MB2603144794 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1320 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Report by G. Arde]

[Text] Pietermaritzburg March 26 SAPA—Natal Midlands branch of the African National Congress [ANC] on Saturday warned that if drastic measures were not taken in Natal the province would be on brink of full-scale war. In a memorandum to the Transitional Executive Council [TEC]—delivered by up to 10,000 ANC supporters who marched to Loop Street police station—the ANC also said it rejected any postponement of the April elections.

"We, the people of Natal, want to make it clear that any postponement of the elections (nationally or in Natal) would plunge this country into a disaster and turn it into a wasteland."

The ANC's memorandum went on to condemn the government for "continued sponsorship of the war in Natal by the South African Police through its very top generals". The memorandum was referring to recent disclosures made before the Goldstone Commission on political violence. ? The ANC's memorandum included a number of demands aimed at creating a climate for free politicking in kwaZulu/Natal. The organisation called for, among other things, the takeover of the kwaZulu Police by the SAP [South African Police], and an end to kwaZulu government paramilitary training camps.

Addressing supporters before the march, ANC Midlands leader Harry Gwala warned Inkatha Freedom Party [IFP] President Mangosuthu Buthelezi that his days were numbered. "Gatsha should try to read events because he's only got 31 days to breathe and kwaZulu will be finished."

Mr Gwala also lashed out at the Democratic Party [DP] in Natal, which on Friday called for a postponement of the elections because of the volatile climate in the province. He said the DP had "become spoilers like the IFP".

Mr Gwala warned of escalating violence if the elections were postponed, saying "there will be more violence because no-one can stop us from going forward to elections". "We want to decide who will govern this country," he said.

The ANC Midlands leader said his organisation wanted peace, but he urged his opponents in the IFP not to "play with fire" by denying political campaigning in Natal.

He also called on King Goodwill Zwelithini not to act as "the king of Inkatha" but as a Zulu monarch.

Addressing minority groups in the audience, Mr Gwala said voting for State President F W de Klerk's National Party was like "backing a dead horse".

Saturday's activities passed without incident, police said. ANC Regional Secretary Mr Sifiso Nkabinde said no reports of violence had been received by 3.30PM. However, three ANC supporters were seriously injured when the bus they were travelling on to Pietermaritzburg overturned.

Traffic officials at the scene, on Duncan McKenzie Drive just outside Pietermaritzburg, said another 50 passengers were hurt, but none were seriously injured. The bus slipped on to its side coming around a bend. Police said enthusiastic passengers were jumping around in the vehicle, which may be caused it to overturn.

Ramaphosa Threatens To Escalate Action

MB2703105194 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0953
GMT 27 Mar 94

[Report by Pierre Claasen]

[Text] Cape Town March 27 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] will escalate its rolling mass action until it has attained its demand for free political activity in Natal/kwaZulu, ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa said on Sunday.

Furthermore, he told a media briefing in Cape Town, the Natal issue would be taken up by the management committee of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) on Monday.

He welcomed political initiatives which he said had been started with a meeting between President F W de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela this week and which had continued with Mr de Klerk meeting kwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend.

Political initiatives, however, were not enough. Security forces had to be deployed to protect people from roving bands of armed killers, he urged. "As the ANC we will insist that security forces protect the lives of our people

and guarantee that elections take place. The ANC has also embarked on rolling mass action to ensure that we get our demands for free political activity. This will escalate unless Chief Buthelezi and the government agree that our people will be given the political space, and agrees with the TEC to ensure free and fair elections are held."

He said all homeland governments would cease to exist on April 27 and that whoever was a chief minister or minister would lose his position on April 27 when the new constitution came into operation. "Chief Buthelezi will cease to be chief minister but what happens between now and then is a moot question. Clearly we expect the kwaZulu government to co-operate in holding free and fair elections."

The TEC would discuss the IEC's [Independent Electoral Council] report on the kwaZulu situation and would need to reflect on the position put forward.

'Rampaging' Violence Reported

MB2703125994 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1046
GMT 27 Mar 94

[By Greg Arde']

[Text] Durban March 27 SAPA—While rampaging violence in Natal dominated South Africa's political talks at the weekend, more blood has continued to flow in the province with police reporting at least 12 deaths since Friday.

The African National Congress [ANC] and violence monitor Mary de Haas said there were unconfirmed reports of another 10 killings throughout Natal, and in northern Natal particularly, where political fighting is said to be rife.

The kwaZulu police said four people were killed in separate incidents in homeland-administered areas at the weekend.

Ms Alice Mhlongo, 43, and Mr Mzokhona Daniel Mhlongo, 17, were attacked and shot dead at their home in Umbumbulu, south of Durban.

Ms Regina Mthembu, 38, also of Umbumbulu, was shot and killed by unknown assailants and Ms Thembi Khumalo, 36, of Esikhwini on Natal's north coast, was stabbed to death. A criminal motive is being investigated in all cases.

Police spokesman Maj Hamilton Ngidi said two people were killed in kwaMakutha, south of Durban, and two people were fatally shot in Ndwedwe, north of Durban.

In Bhambayi, also north of Durban, four people were murdered.

ANC northern Natal spokesman Zipho Mkhize said six people were believed to have been killed in Ntambanana, near Empangeni, since last week.

Ms de Haas said there were unconfirmed reports that three people had been murdered in Ensingweni, near Mtunzini, on Natal's north coast.

She said the situation in areas around nearby Eshowe were worsening with reports of a politically motivated murder in S'qwanjana on Friday. Women in the kwaMfana area were fleeing their homes at night and sleeping in the bushes after a number of homes had been attacked and set alight, she said.

On Sunday there were fears of a confrontation between IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] supporters and ANC members after the network of independent monitors alleged that IFP members had occupied an ANC rally venue in Vryheid, northern Natal.

The ANC on Natal's south coast said it was worried about similar conflict linked to its rally, to be addressed by SA Communist Party stalwart Joe Slovo on Sunday.

Continuing violence in Natal was the subject of urgent talks between State President F W de Klerk and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban on Saturday.

There the leaders agreed to establish a mechanism to search for solutions to the problem of holding elections in kwaZulu-administered areas, and both pledged to try and reach agreements aimed at eliminating violence and the present tension in Natal.

While they met, about 10,000 ANC supporters marched through Pietermaritzburg to support their stated demand of free political activity in the province. On Friday, the ANC brought Durban to a standstill when 80,000 supporters demonstrated for the same reason.

The ANC has demanded the immediate deployment of South African troops and the National Peace Keeping Force (NPKF) in the region to ensure free political activity, and warned of "unprecedented" mass action if its demands were ignored.

Expressing its concern about the worsening situation in the province, the Natal church leaders' group on Friday said the SA Defence Force (SADF) should be deployed in violence flash points.

The Democratic Party (DP) said the situation was bad enough to warrant a postponement of the April elections. The initial weekend death toll has brought to over 120 the number killed in Natal since last Friday.

ANC Durban March 'Peaceful;' Strong Police Presence

MB2503124294 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1100 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] Bus loads of ANC supporters were taken to Curries Fountain in Durban this morning for the march through the city center that got underway a short while ago. Our reporters on the scene say the atmosphere is

peaceful but that police are maintaining a strong presence and the area had been cordoned off. Shops in central Durban have been closed since 10 AM [0800 GMT] and workers have been sent home. The ANC has said the purpose of the march is to call for free political activity, especially in areas under the administration of the kwaZulu government.

Four Killed After March

MB2603080894 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 0600 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] At least four people have been killed and several others injured in violence apparently connected to the return of people from an ANC [African National Congress] march in Durban. Three people, two of whom were young children, were shot dead in the Bhambayi squatter camp near Durban yesterday, and several shacks were set alight. In Empangeni several people were injured in attacks on people returning from the march, and in Stanger an ANC supporter was stabbed after a march. The ANC has blamed the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] for the violence.

Meanwhile, the IFP has dismissed as a failure yesterday's ANC march through the Durban city center. The IFP accused the ANC of busing in Xhosa from the Transkei and the Eastern Cape, and said many of the protesters had been too young to vote. The ANC said the rally proved that tens of thousands of Zulus supported participation in the election.

SADF, Ciskei Security Forces To Cooperate, Stabilize Ciskei

MB2703055594 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 27 Mar 94

[Text] The South African Defense Force [SADF] and the Ciskeian security forces have agreed at a meeting in Bisho to cooperate to stabilize the situation in the territory. It has also been agreed that the South African security forces will not replace those of Ciskei. The move follows earlier indications that certain officers in the Ciskei Defense Force were opposed to the deployment of the SADF and were in favor of the return of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

ANC, Freedom Front on White Homeland Issue

MB2503144494 Johannesburg SABC CCV Television Network in English 1730 GMT 24 Mar 94

[Interview with ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, and Freedom Front spokesman General Tienie Groenewald, by SABC announcer Leslie Mashokwe on the "News-line" program, date not given—live]

[Text] [Mashokwe] Good evening and welcome to News-line. Tonight in our program we focus on the manifestos of the Freedom Front and the African National Congress [ANC]. Later on the two parties debate these manifestos. The question of a volkstaat [Afrikaner homeland] raised

a lot of eyebrows when it was first mooted and it remains one of the most contentious issues to come to the fore in recent years. I am now being joined by the Freedom Front's General Tienie Groenewald and the ANC's Carl Niehaus. Good evening gentlemen and welcome. What is the real state of affairs? Are we going to have a volkstaat? Mr. Nelson Mandela proclaims that during his lifetime there will never be a volkstaat. What is the latest?

[Niehaus] Well, Leslie, the important issue is whether we are keen to address the concerns that everyone in this country has of different languages and different cultures. The ANC says we are. We are keen to try and work out a feasible and a workable plan on how to address these concerns. You know, this is not a new thing. We had said since 1955 that all the languages and all the cultures in this country must be able to grow and develop, but we also say there are practical ways of doing it and there are impractical approaches, and an impractical approach is to insist on a geographical area, a specific piece of land, and the reason why we say that is very simple, not because we try to deny anyone in this country their rights, their culture, their language, but because the reality is that nowhere in South Africa are the Afrikaners or that group of the Afrikaners who support a volkstaat, and they are a minority, even amongst Afrikaners, nowhere are they in the majority in any geographical area. And the citizens ...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Okay, but ...

[Niehaus, continuing] Can I just conclude this, because it's crucial. The people who live in that area are in every area—the majority are black people, and what I hear from the Afrikaner Volksfront [National Front] is that those people will not be able to have full citizenship. They won't have voting rights. They will be in a position of second class citizens. That is unacceptable. The ANC had fought since 1912 for nonracialism, for an inclusive democracy which will grant rights to everyone. We cannot now come and grant rights to one group to the detriment, at the cost of the majority of our people.

[Mashokwe] Tienie Groenewald, the ANC's manifesto says the land belongs to all who live in it. In a way it is an inclusive document which seems to be addressing some of your concerns.

[Groenewald] You'd like my comment on the ANC's statement that the land belongs to everyone? Certainly, we do not deny that but in South Africa we have all three major causes for conflict. There are only three causes for conflict. The first, is disputes over territory, secondly, disputes over ethnicity or nationalism, and thirdly, disputes over religion or ideology. There is not one single unitary state in the whole world where these three causes of conflict are present in states that are democratic states. The only states where this occurred was where you had a dictatorship, such as the old Soviet Union and in Yugoslavia, and the moment you imposed a democracy these states fell apart, which proves one thing—that when the causes of conflict are present, and the three

causes of conflict are present in any particular state, then you must look at a different dispensation. Now in this respect what we've done in South Africa is—we have been led by the ideological thinking and the constitutional thinking, mainly from the communist sphere of influence on the one side, and secondly, by American thinking as to what is good for South Africa. We never looked at the European examples, examples such as Switzerland, examples such as Belgium. Now if we take those examples we find that these were countries where you had the same causes for conflict, and they went for a constitutional dispensation in which power was basically brought down as close to the people as possible. Now this, this is where the basic difference is in the ANC's policies and our policies. Now coming back to the points that Mr. Niehaus made, now first of all, could I correct a few statements. He said first of all there is no such area in which there is a concentration of Afrikaners, in which the Afrikaners are the majority. In the discussions that we've had with the ANC, we have presented to them a scientific map in which there is an area of approximately 14 percent in which there is a majority of Afrikaners. Now this is the first point which I think is extremely important.

[Mashokwe] Where is this area?

[Groenewald] This area has Pretoria as the center, with a part of the eastern Transvaal, a part of the western Transvaal, and a part of the northern [Orange] Free State. Now let's come back to the second point. That second point was that in this volkstaat only Afrikaners will have the vote. Now let me say that this question is still being debated, and we are still negotiating with the ANC, and there is an accord which is presently being negotiated which specifically addresses this particular point, of voting rights within the volkstaat. That question has not been resolved yet.

[Mashokwe] Mr. Niehaus, you want to respond quickly?

[Niehaus] Well, first of all, the question of voting rights is not resolved because there is a continuation and an insistence from the Volksfront that they want to give special rights to what they call the Afrikaner group who they want to see as exclusively in control of that area, but secondly, nowhere in South Africa, I repeat again, is there an area where Afrikaners are in the majority. Of course you can go and take a small little area in Pretoria, where because of the Group Areas Act there may be a majority of whites living there, but that area is an integrated part of an economic system and Pretoria is integrated with Mamelodi, with Atteridgeville, and all the areas surrounding it. It's an impractical suggestion, except if Gen. Groenewald is saying that those areas such as Mamelodi and Atteridgeville should be used in the old racist and apartheid system, as satellites to the Pretoria area where they will be able to monopolize the economic power and make use of people who come in on the basis of migrant labor, moving in and out to work there and not being able to deal in the richness and in the economy of that area.

[Mashokwe] Let's get Gen. Groenewald to explain his position with regards to the areas—the black areas around Pretoria for instance, because you mentioned Pretoria particularly.

[Groenewald] Now I can give you examples, in the United States for example ...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Let's look at Pretoria.

[Groenewald] Okay, but let me give you an example of what is acceptable in the rest of the world. In the United States they have demarcated certain constituencies, one in particular which is a hundred miles in length, and at one place a hundred yards wide, specifically to draw in an area in which the negroes have a majority so that they could have more negro seats in the senate. In Belgium they have drawn ...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Let's look at Pretoria. I am worried about time.

[Groenewald] Now what I'm saying is we should also look at how these problems are solved in the rest of the world, and we find in Belgium, in particular, the boundaries have been drawn very strictly along language lines. Now whether you draw the boundary in such a way that Pretoria is in the Volkstaat, and for example Mamelodi and Atteridgeville is outside, that does not really matter. What matters is what happens to the industrial areas, in the areas in which the wealth is created, in those areas where people work and where the jobs are, on which side of the border ...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] It doesn't answer the question on what do you do with the people around there. Do they become part and parcel of the volkstaat, of the Pretoria volkstaat as it were, or are they migrant laborers as it was the case in the past?

[Groenewald] No, there's no reason whatsoever why they should be migrant laborers.

[Mashokwe] Dormitory townships?

[Groenewald] Yes, there is no reason whatsoever ...

[Mashokwe] What do they do? Do they then have their own little black volkstaat outside of Pretoria?

[Groenewald] If they want it. This is the advantage. If they want it. Now the point—let me just explain this to you. We are not talking of a South Africa which is economically completely segregated. We are talking about an area in which economically we are still integrated as we are in South Africa today. There's no reason why we cannot do that.

[Mashokwe] Let me get Carl to respond and react quickly to this.

[Niehaus] Leslie, we are talking about a lappieskombers [patchwork quilt], as we say in Afrikaans—little pieces of land torn apart, but the reality is this kind of proposal doesn't take into consideration that throughout South

Africa, through all the different cultural groups, through all the language groups—now no group that says as a majority they want a volkstaat. There is a small minority in the Volksfront who say they want a volkstaat, and the reality is that in this country there are political divides that cut across all the different language groups and all the different cultural groups. I'm sitting here tonight. I'm an Afrikaner. I don't want to be part of a volkstaat and the vast majority of the Afrikaners don't want to be part of a volkstaat, so the concept, as it was set out for some of the European nations, doesn't work for South Africa because in this country we have a South African nation where people, regardless of whether they are Afrikaners, Zulus, Xhosas, are identifying themselves with particular political ideals set out in the ANC, in the Volksfront, in the National Party, in the Democratic Party, all of those parties.

[Mashokwe] Could you respond quickly.

[Groenewald] That is what the negotiations with the ANC is about, to prove substantial support and by means of participating in the election, to also prove exactly where the boundaries of such a volkstaat should be. In other words, what I'm saying, is the whole question of support and the question of boundaries is a question which will be resolved in the election on the 27 April, so let's not argue about that now. We'll see what happens on the 27 April as far as substantial support is concerned. Let me also add that all the opinion polls, all the meetings we have had at this stage, proves beyond all doubt that 70-80 percent of Afrikaners in South Africa want a volkstaat.

[Mashokwe] The one question that always bothers people is that who are the Afrikaners, who are the Boere and who are these people? That seems to be confusing the issue all the more Tienie.

[Groenewald] Yes, certainly, but in every nation, in any ethno-cultural group you have divergent views.

[Mashokwe] Are you Boer or are you Afrikaner?

[Groenewald] I'm an Afrikaner Boer and I can explain that to you, but I think the point is you took a statement made by Mr. Robert van Tonder. He is not a member of the Volksfront and he is not a member of our party.

[Mashokwe] But he is one of the Afrikaners, one of the Boere.

[Groenewald] Okay, he is one of the Boere. Now the point I'd like to make is, Carl considers himself an Afrikaner as I certainly do, now the first point I'd like to make—an Afrikaner knows whether he is an Afrikaner or not. There are two requirements. First of all you must classify yourself as something, and secondly, once you have classified yourself to a particular group then that group must also recognize you as part of that group. Those are the basic two criteria.

[Mashokwe] Thank you. Carl you were going to respond to Gen. Groenewald.

[Niehaus] Yes, it immediately links with what Gen. Groenewald is saying. Who is the Afrikaner? The Afrikaner is diverse. There is no center really of who the Afrikaner is. I am an Afrikaner, Gen. Groenewald is an Afrikaner, but the real issue is, is there anyone who tries to talk on behalf of the Afrikaner, who put themselves so to speak at the gate of Afrikanerdom, and is arrogant enough to say that they talk on behalf of Afrikaners? There I must take issue, because Gen. Groenewald and the Afrikaner Volksfront very often says that they are talking on behalf of the Afrikaner and I don't know on whose behalf they are talking. They are definitely not talking, and I repeat again, on behalf of the majority of Afrikaners. The Markinor survey of a few weeks ago said exactly the opposite of what Gen. Groenewald is saying about support for the volkstaat, in fact, it said that six out of every 10 supporters of the Afrikaner Volksfront is not prepared to leave their territory, to leave their land, and sacrifice anything for the sake of a volkstaat. So it's very weak support even amongst those groups who identify themselves.

[Mashokwe] Okay Carl, let me get Gen. Groenewald here to explain to me exactly what is going to happen then to the people who happen to be in those areas that are designated as the volkstaat.

[Groenewald] Let me say first of all that we don't expect anyone to leave any part of South Africa and to move to the volkstaat. The idea of a volkstaat ...

[Mashokwe interrupting] What about people who are in the volkstaat—in the areas that you designate as a volkstaat?

[Groenewald] Exactly the same thing. We do not expect mass movements of people. This is not what the intention of the volkstaat is. What we are saying is that we'd like a center somewhere where we as a people can survive, where our culture can grow, where we have the political power to determine our own future. It's a matter of...[pauses] We have been talking about the volkstaat all the time, but the critical question is the one of self-determination. It's a matter of being in the position where you determine, as a people you determine your own future. Now this does not mean that in South Africa we are looking at mass movement of people. This is certainly not the intention.

[Niehaus] There are two questions: The first one is, if there is not going to be mass movement of people out of the volkstaat, will every person who lives in that volkstaat have exactly the same rights as every Afrikaner? Will they vote there? Will they be able, if they are the majority, when they have a political party, to take over the government of that area? That's the first question. And the second question, in addition to that is, are we actually saying to each other that it is possible to talk about self-determination without a geographical area, because the ANC says, we believe it is—we believe we can address the center of concern that Gen. Groenewald

is talking about without granting a particular independent geographical area, and that is, can I just emphasize, that is exactly the crux of the question that we have been debating and what that memorandum that Gen. Groenewald is referring to is trying to address.

[Groenewald] Let me answer that question quickly by saying no people has ever, in the history of mankind, survived without having their own geographic area. That is the first and a vital question, so geographic area is very much a part of the survival of any people. Secondly, as far as citizenship is concerned and as far as civil rights is concerned, and as far as voting rights is concerned, whatever system we eventually negotiate in the volkstaat will have to conform to international accepted standards.

[Mashokwe] So you will not discriminate against people who are not Afrikaners?

[Groenewald] No, no certainly not.

[Niehaus] So there will be the chance for the black majority in that area to take control and to rule that area together with a united South Africa.

[Groenewald] I'm not saying that.

[Niehaus] That's the crux of the question.

[Groenewald] No, that's not the crux of the question. The question is: We have a South Africa, and a South Africa which belongs to everyone, now what we are now saying is let us in this South Africa find a place for everyone of the different ethno-cultural groups. That's the first and vital question. So we don't want a situation ...

[Mashokwe] Is there such a place?

[Groenewald] Yes, there is such a place. I have indicated this to you, but you see what you've done is you have concentrated so far on the volkstaat, you've concentrated on the question of self-determination, but we should start looking at the alternatives. We should start looking at the ANC alternative, because what we have done so far is we have limited this discussion ...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Okay. What problems do you have with that one?

[Groenewald] Okay, now let me tell you what the basic problem is, and this is the crux of the political problem in South Africa, is the fact that the ANC wants to concentrate all the power at the center so all political power must be at the center, and in the present constitution, and certainly according to the viewpoints of people like Mr. Joe Slovo, and people that we have negotiated with, that there is not single, not one single critical function that has been devolved to provinces or to the different states, not one. There is no exclusive powers whatsoever in the provinces. This basically means that because all the power is at the center, and as far away from the people as possible, this is an absolute

requirement for the creation of a Marxist state or a socialist state where you have central planning. We say no. We want the power as close as possible to the people in the provinces.

[Mashokwe] Let me respond to that—power to the people. Don't you believe in that?

[Niehaus] With respect, I don't agree at all with Gen. Groenewald that the African National Congress and the other negotiating parties have not taken great care and went to great lengths to try and accommodate the concerns of the Freedom Alliance. That is why we had another session of the negotiating council and why a number of powers were actually devolved to the regions, and Gen. Groenewald knows that those powers as they were set out at the last session of the negotiations council actually were exactly the powers that were negotiated and discussed with the Freedom Alliance, so that is not correct, but secondly, let us talk actually about economic policy because that is the crux of the matter.

[Groenewald] I think we must, we must first talk about this issue of exclusive powers, because a wrong statement was made by Mr. Niehaus and we must correct that statement.

[Mashokwe] Correct it now and we have to move on.

[Groenewald] Certainly, we'd like to move on. The point I'd like to make is—the functions negotiated and passed on to provinces in the changes in the constitution were powers previously that presided with local authorities, like abattoirs, and it was now pulled up to the second level of government.

[Mashokwe] But are you not happy with that at least?

[Groenewald] Of course, because they are not exclusive, because there are at least seven provisions—subjects—so there is not one function that has been allocated to provinces. Secondly, all the functions of provinces can be changed by the central government without the authority of the provinces.

[Mashokwe] Is it not a fact Carl?

[Niehaus] Leslie, the fact is that those powers, including the powers of abattoirs were exactly the ones that were asked for by the Volksfront and especially that the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg, had asked for. The sad thing is that it seems that Dr. Hartzenberg and members of the Volksfront have not even known exactly what they were asking for, because once we gave it to them then they complained that they were not getting the powers that they wanted, and we gave them exactly what was discussed.

[Groenewald] That is not true. That's simply not true.

[Mashokwe] Gen. Groenewald, let's look at how you are going to address the issue of the disadvantaged people and the fact that we had a situation where the Afrikaners

were poor and now they are the economic powerhouse of this country. Are you going to address that one?

[Groenewald] First of all, when we look at the volkstaat as such, or the proposed volkstaat, it only—it provides for approximately 12 percent of the GNP of the whole of South Africa, so it's one of the poorer areas of South Africa. I think this is the first and the most important point. The second point I'd like to make is in the volkstaat we'll have an absolutely free market economy. You cannot always create wealth by taking away from the rich and giving to the poor. I think this is the first point.

[Mashokwe] But there was an important thing that happened in 1929 when the Afrikaners were poor, there was a deliberate effort at empowering them economically. Are you going to do the same in addressing the demands and the wishes of the black majority in this country, or are you at all worried about that problem?

[Groenewald] No, of course we are. The important thing is that everyone has a responsibility towards the socio-economic upliftment of those people who are less advantaged. This is a commitment which we all have. The question is how do you do it. Do you do it through a program by creating a socialist economy or do you do it by creating wealth through a freemarket system. Now our point is that if you employ a socialist system there is no way in which you are going to get foreign investment.

[Mashokwe] You are not suggesting that the ANC is ...

[Groenewald] Of course they are. Of course they are.

[Niehaus] Well, that's surprising because the ANC is not having a socialist system. We say that we have an economic plan that must create jobs and we say that we work in an integrated and complex economy where those jobs must be created. You cannot do it in little pieces of land. It must be an integrated process of having the necessary public works programs, laying on electricity to all our people, building roads, running water, all of those issues.

[Mashokwe] But then how are you, Carl, how then are you going to have the state playing such an important role in creating all these jobs?

[Niehaus] Well, the state will play an important role in helping to direct this process together with the private sector. We are saying we will enter into a partnership where the state will help with the creation of a public works program, but we will also, together with the private sector, help with the creation of small business and that again is an issue which cannot be addressed in small areas. It must be a national approach, of course devolved through the nine provinces that we have, and the ANC says that as the Afrikaners in 1929 and 1948 were trying to change around an unjust system, I agree, Afrikaners were disadvantaged, they were being discriminated against, so has the majority of people in this country got the right to change that system around but

not through an unjust and divided economy. Through an integrated economy that will serve ...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Okay, let's get into this point ...

[Niehaus] Just give me a chance. I think Gen. Groenewald has been receiving quite a lot of time. And the ANC says, yes, let us work together. Let us get also the expertise of the Afrikaners, and I think the Afrikaners have got a lot of important expertise to ensure that jobs are being created for all our people, but let us not isolate the Afrikaner and sideline them and put them in that area that only has 12 percent of the gross national product, and actually create a new situation where the Afrikaner will be impoverished by this plan of standing apart from the rest of South Africa.

[Mashokwe] Tienie?

[Groenewald] I can assure you one thing, that we will not be impoverished, but I think the important thing is, and this really is the Achilles heel of the ANC—let's leave the economy to private enterprise and not to the state, because this is the basic, the real basic difference between the policy of the Freedom Front and the policy of the ANC. The policy of the ANC is centralizing everything—political control, the economy, everything. The state must control every individual. What we say, the state has but one responsibility, one prime responsibility, and that is to see that the individual is not exploited and that the individual is safe. That's basically it. Let's leave the economy over to industrialists, to private enterprise.

[Mashokwe] But Gen. Groenewald, the Nationalist Party government took the bold step of addressing the Afrikaner problem. How are you then going to address the black problem this time of deprived people, disadvantaged people? Do you care for their vote? Should they vote for you?

[Groenewald] Let me say, first of all, as far as black people are concerned. Of course you have to create jobs, but so far experience throughout the world has proved one thing, and that is that socialism, state control of the economy has destroyed job opportunities and not created it. This is the experience of Africa. This is the experience of every Marxist state throughout the whole world. What we do find is those economies that have grown, that have relieved the problems of poverty amongst the people has been those states in which you have a private sector.

[Mashokwe] You are not answering my question on affirmative action General with due respect.

[Niehaus] But Leslie, with respect ...

[Groenewald] I beg your pardon?

[Mashokwe] You are not responding to my question on affirmative action.

[Niehaus] But can I just come in quickly, because Gen. Groenewald ...

[Mashokwe] But let him respond to that one.

[Niehaus] I think he can respond but he keeps on harping on socialism. The ANC is not presenting a socialist program. We are presenting a plan where the private sector, the different trade unions, all the people of this country, all the different economic interest groups have worked together in the national economic forum and also in the plan that we have developed in the Reconstruction and Development Program.

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Let me get Gen. Groenewald to respond first to my question. Thank you, Carl.

[Groenewald] To the whole question of affirmative action?

[Mashokwe] Yes, what are you going to do on that one?

[Groenewald] Let me say that we have been busy with affirmative action for a very long time. Let me give you an example. From 1970—from 1970 until 1990 there has been a real increase in black wages of 70 percent.

[Mashokwe] We are talking about the Freedom Front please.

[Groenewald] No I'm just indicating to you that we have been busy with a whole program of affirmative action for the last 20 years. There has been enormous changes. Now affirmative action is something which should be related first of all to your productive capacity—the creation of wealth in the country through private enterprise, and jobs being created, certainly, by private enterprise and not by the state. Now this is the first and important question, so it's a very delicate measure of having a system of taxation ...

[Mashokwe] Let me hold you right there. Carl Niehaus, respond quickly.

[Groenewald] Let me just complete it. Let me just complete my point.

[Mashokwe] Let him respond.

[Niehaus] Well, you interrupted me so now can I proceed.

[Mashokwe] Please continue. We'll come back to you.

[Niehaus] General Groenewald knows very well that no economy that is successful in Western Europe and in the United States is only, simply a private enterprise. It is a combination of state and private enterprise, and the ANC says, let us first of all acknowledge that there was an unjust system in this country and that system needs to be turned around and the state, together with private enterprise has got a role to do it. And with respect Gen. Groenewald, the National Party who you seem to refer to as having implemented some kind of program of affirmative action in the past, has not done so. If we look at

the World Bank's economic index, the one category where South Africa comes first is on the category of the most divided society and the most unequal society in the world. That has to be addressed ...

[Mashokwe, interrupting] Let him respond quickly Carl.

[Groenewald] Look, I'm not arguing about that. We are talking about the future, first of all, and the point that I wanted to make is that in your system of taxation, which is the base and which will be the base of the ANC's program of affirmative action, it's a matter of a delicate balance, whereby you can have enough funds available for investment through private enterprise and enough funds available for so-called affirmative action.

[Mashokwe] Carl, you were still explaining one thing or the other with regard to the economic policies. Yes, the hand of the state seems to be very strong. To what extent would you then say the private sector is able to maneuver and create jobs?

[Niehaus] Well, the private sector will be able to maneuver and create jobs very well. If you look at our plan we say there are certain sectors where obviously the private sector will have a real problem in providing for all the needs like the provision of electricity, but we say let us work together, for example, on the building of houses in a combination with the private sector. The state will help through a public works program, through providing some resources and so will we expect from the private sector to do so, and Gen. Groenewald agreed with me, although he initially just spoke about free enterprise, that in no state that is truly successful there is only free enterprise.

There is always this combination and those countries like Chile during the last few years that have been truly successful have worked out a plan, and it is a comprehensive plan that includes the whole geographical area. It can't be a plan that is divided by the kind of volkstaat concept that Gen. Groenewald has. That is the plan for poverty and that is a plan for division and eventually for a total destruction of the South African nation.

[Mashokwe] Okay, let me get Gen. Groenewald here. I asked you earlier whether you want black votes.

[Groenewald] At this stage our intention is to get a volkstaat, but certainly, everyone, everyone who cherishes the question of self-determination, will find in the Freedom Front a party that will do everything in their power to achieve a constitutional dispensation in South Africa where self-determination plays a central role.

[Mashokwe] Do you want black votes?

[Groenewald] We are not going out of our way to specifically look for black votes.

[Mashokwe] So you are racist.

[Groenewald] No, please don't say that. It's not a question of racism. It's a question that we are looking at the

self-determination, first of all, of the Afrikaner people. That's what it's all about, and this has got nothing to do with racism. Let's be quite clear about that.

[Mashokwe] Okay, Carl.

[Niehaus] Leslie, at a time when we are in South Africa's history where the injustices of the past must be put right, where the people who have been oppressed must be helped to become part of a full South African nation, Gen. Groenewald is saying: We are not interested in black votes. We are simply there to continue to help to promote those who have been privileged in the past. That is, he said the Achilles heel—in the past he used that concept—that is the Achilles heel of the Volksfront, and unfortunately this whole evening Gen. Groenewald has been beating around the bush and I must really thank you for having put your finger on the real issue. Behind all the nice talk, the Volksfront still has the festering sore of racism and the Afrikaner cannot afford that. The Afrikaners cannot allow ourselves to be pulled into that situation. The Afrikaner can only survive, Leslie, in a united South Africa. The Afrikaner is strong enough to do so without geographical areas. We've got a good language. We've got a good culture.

[Mashokwe] General.

[Groenewald] Okay, let me emphasize this once and for all. South Africa is looking at a constitutional dispensation in which we will have peace. We have many examples in the world, examples such as Switzerland, which went through a period of enormous friction and violence until they resolved a situation in which you have good neighbors working together as a group. We are not racist. What we are saying is that let's move power away from the center and let's realize that in South Africa we have different ethno-cultural groups who must take hands across the table, who must take hands across the table and find a way in which they can live together in such a way they do not destroy each other.

[Mashokwe] Gentlemen, your concluding statements

[Niehaus] Well, Leslie, racism is evil. It must be rejected. In whatever form it comes, even in a Afrikaner Volksfront form. What we need in South Africa is an economic plan. A plan for justice, a plan to give free education for the first 10 years to our children, to provide proper health care. That can only be done in a united, nonracial South Africa. The only organization that has such a plan is the ANC and that we will promote.

[Mashokwe] Thank you, your last statements.

[Groenewald] Let me say the solution in South Africa is not imposing a system that has never worked in the Soviet Union or in other socialist countries. Let us look at a system in which we have a new and modern approach—approach where everyone can have his own dignity and his own place under the sun, and this is what the Freedom Front proposes.

[Mashokwe] On that note, Gen. Groenewald, Carl Niehaus, thanks for joining us on Newline. Goodnight.

South African Press Review for 27 Mar

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[Editorial Report]

SUNDAY TIMES

Economic Justice—"In South African political mythology, economic justice is viewed as a matter of taking money from rich whites and giving it to poor blacks. This perception, crude as it is, underpins not only political rhetoric, but the policies and perceptions of the ANC [African National Congress]," an editorial in Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English on 27 March on page 28 notes. A second myth postulates "a massive shift of wealth in the past two decades from white to black," in effect "the policy which the ANC plans to pursue is already, to some degree, working." What has happened is a "massive shift of wealth from the poorest class of whites to the richest classes of blacks," in other words among "white and black, the rich are getting richer (or, among whites, at least hanging on to their wealth)." "Unless the ANC adopts appropriate policies—which means, simply, policies that will lift people out of poverty by placing them in stable employment—we may subsidize towards the conditions of Zaire." "Class divisions, not racial divisions, are likely to be the critical issues as rich blacks get richer and poor whites poorer."

SUNDAY NATION

Natal Marchers—"We know at least about 60,000 brave Zulus who believe that King Goodwill Zwelithini's idea of boycotting the April 27 elections and establishing a sovereign kingdom is not at all a bright idea," an editorial in the Johannesburg SUNDAY NATION in English on 27 March on page 6 notes. "We want to believe that the marchers are just the beginning of an even larger Zulu community" which "will use its might to show the world that it is not going to be a sacrificial lamb to save Buthelezi's selfish political ambition." "This is the time for all democrats to test their claimed popularity at the polls in a fair manner. This process should take place on April 27. Natal-kwaZulu should not be an exception to this rule."

De Klerk and the Generals—"Open defiance of the state's political authority by police generals implicated in third force violence is worrying in the extreme," the second editorial in the SUNDAY NATION on 27 March notes. "While on one level it demonstrates the decree to which the police have become politicized, at another it reflects the extent to which they refuse to be held accountable for their actions." Weakness in the presidency and Law and Order Ministry derive from "the fact that over the years of NP [National Party] rule" the police "developed into an authority in itself, bent on protecting party political interests rather than society" and because "South Africa has no history of ministerial

accountability." "Accountability must be forced on De Klerk, Kriel and their generals by the masses who have had to bear the pain of the government's disdain for black human life."

BEELD

Zulu King Raising Temperatures in Natal—The Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans of 22 March points out in a page 14 editorial: "King Goodwill Zwelithini has driven the political pressure in Natal higher with his announcement on Friday regarding the restoration of the Zulu kingdom—not because he is fighting for the maintenance of the Zulu kingdom, but because he is holding out to his subjects the threat of protest against the election as a means of achieving his goal. There must be millions of Zulus in Natal who pledge loyalty to their king, but who want to vote and want the election to take place. Where will his call leave them? King Goodwill and his great advisor, Mr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, have the fullest right to fight for the preservation of the Zulu culture and traditions. But they have no right to deny other Natalians and Zulu subjects and the rest of South Africa the right to exercise their democratic right. The king, Mr. Buthelezi, and the rest of South Africa who are watching kwaZulu-Natal with bated breath, must know that the ANC will not accept the king's call for an election boycott lying down. Indeed, they are already making plans for mass action and other disruptive activities." "In kwaZulu-Natal the result will be much bloodier and messier than in Bophuthatswana, but the outcome will be the same," and "the party to benefit most will be the ANC."

Vote for All Prisoners A Mistake—"The unrest in prisons in which prisoners demonstrated in support of participation in the election by all criminals behind bars can be seen as the fruits of an unfortunate compromise," says an editorial on page 8 of the Johannesburg BEELD in Afrikaans of 23 March. "What those who support the vote for criminals forget is that imprisonment is imposed with the aim of totally removing the offender from society for a period. During that time his rights as a member of society are withdrawn; it includes the right to participate in political activities. The argument being raised by the ANC, that it is unjust to prevent some prisoners from exercising their most basic right—the vote—does not hold water. The right to vote is not the most basic right; that right is the right to life, and it is that right which the majority of the criminals sentenced to death denied to others." "The granting of the vote to all imprisoned criminals merely compounds what is already an awful mistake."

Caution Needed Over Police Generals—A second editorial on the same page notes: "We would like to believe that State President F.W. de Klerk, when he ordered three of the country's top generals to take compulsory leave following the release of the Goldstone report, did not act without very good reason. The allegations against the generals are very serious, but it is precisely for that reason that we have an uneasy feeling about the course of

events during the investigation by Justice Goldstone." "A very important principle in law is that every person must be given the opportunity to fully state his side of the case, which was apparently not done here. In addition the generals were not provided with legal assistance and they were not given the opportunity to cross-examine the people who presented evidence against them. So we ask: go steady with wild accusations and allegations. Hold a full investigation in which the law is properly applied, before crucifying people."

Culture of Lawlessness Being Created—A third editorial points out: "One of the most deplorable statements heard in the election campaign comes from Mr. George Biya, president of the Azanian Youth Organization. Mr.

Biya praised the looters who stole goods during the uprising in Bophuthatswana. His justification for this is: 'No white man arrived from Europe with a refrigerator or a bed. On the contrary, our people only took what was theirs, and no apology is made.' Should one wish to sink to the same level as Mr. Biya, one could point out that it is precisely because of this kind of mentality by too many too often in Africa that the continent finds itself in the state it is." "Black entrepreneurs and the general public are daily victims of looting in its various forms, encouraged by people like Mr. Biya who are helping to create a culture of lawlessness. Real leaders will have to take note that South Africans of all colors are sick and tired of any form of hooliganism."

Angola

Wrapup of UNITA Clashes, Activities, Radio Reports

Attacks To Be Resisted

MB2503174594 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1100 GMT 25 Mar 94

[Text] UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] says its forces will not withdraw from any part of Angola they occupy until the peace negotiations in Lusaka are completed. UNITA said its forces would continue to resist attacks by the Angolan Army until a general peace accord had been signed. UNITA made this announcement in a statement after it claimed a major military victory over government forces in the region of Dange-ia-Menha in Angola's northern Cuanza Norte Province. The movement said it had inflicted heavy casualties on a government military convoy estimated to consist of about 3,000 infantry soldiers and dozens of tanks. A number of Zairian mercenaries fighting alongside the Angolan Army had also been killed.

101 MPLA Soldiers Killed

MB2603075094 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] Fierce clashes continue to take place in the area of Dange-ia-Menha, in Cuanza Norte Province. This is the priority target for Luanda's Futungo de Belas Palace, which wants to eventually reach diamond-rich Lunda Norte and Lunda Sul Provinces.

In the latest fighting, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, MPLA-Labor Party, forces lost one BM-21 rocket launcher and one TMM mobile bridge, suffered 101 soldiers confirmed killed on the ground, 160 soldiers who surrendered, and 30 soldiers who were captured.

The fighting is continuing with the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola having the upper hand in terms of operational initiative, thereby frustrating this war-mongering adventure by the warlords in Luanda. Vivaldo Prata, the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel correspondent in the area, reports:

[Begin Prata recording] The war situation in Cuanza Norte Province is deteriorating daily. The MPLA is using military and [words indistinct] equipment (?to try and secure) strategic positions on the various operational fronts. The MPLA forces have been involved in major military movements from Dondo since (?13) March [words indistinct] mechanized column in a bid to occupy (Inhanga). That People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, mechanized column was using the 74 km long road between Dondo and N'dalatando [words indistinct] war materiel [words indistinct] of the following types: [words indistinct] four (?Z-1) 23-mm

cannons, two (?Z-1) 37-mm cannons, four [word indistinct] submachine guns, four [words indistinct] in terms of vehicles [words indistinct] war materiel and initially supported by 2,000 men belonging to FAPLA's 45th and 16th Battalions [words indistinct] enemy forces tried to occupy N'dalatando, but they failed and suffered the following losses: [words indistinct] completely burned up, one [words indistinct] completely destroyed. FAPLA soldiers confirmed killed on the ground: [words indistinct] (?20) marines, including some high-ranking officers [passage indistinct]. [end recording]

MPLA Army Chief's Remarks Condemned

MB2603131194 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Text] Despite the defeats that his People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] have been suffering, Chief of General Staff Joao de Matos has again urged his soldiers to be ever more ready for war against—obviously—the defenseless people of Angola. Addressing the ceremony marking the close of the course for the first marines in the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola's [MPLA] navy yesterday, Joao de Matos said that, quote, we must continue training forces like these, so that we can be more effective in combat, unquote.

The MPLA war chieftain once again resorted to his usual excuses, saying the victim is the aggressor, and alleging that the FAPLA forces will continue to defend themselves in the face of aggression by the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, when in fact he is the one who is ordering the FAPLA forces to go on an offensive against Cuanza Norte, Cuanza Sul, Lunda Norte, Lunda Sul, Zaire, Huila, Moxico, and Bengo Provinces, among others. The MPLA's increasingly bellicose behavior is closely related to the inflexibility of the Faustino Muteka-led government team to the Lusaka peace talks, thereby confirming reports that the MPLA is only wasting time in the Zambian capital while waiting for the arrival of mercenaries and military equipment imported from foreign countries.

MPLA Troops Trying To Flee Dange-ia-Menha

MB2603125294 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 26 Mar 94

[Excerpts] Calm has not returned to Cuanza Norte Province yet. Fierce clashes are continuing in the area of Dange-ia-Menha. After realizing that their militarist adventure against the area is a dream that will never come true, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party forces are now desperately looking for ways to get back to Dondo. They are under siege, however, and it is getting tighter all the time. [passage omitted] In clashes at 1500 GMT yesterday, as the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FAPLA, were trying to make their way back to Dondo, they left on the ground 10 dead soldiers, hundreds of wounded soldiers, two burnt out T-55 and T-66 tanks

[words indistinct] and 20 cargo vehicles, also burnt out. Our forces also captured one 130-mm cannon. The other FAPLA forces are last in the jungle at this stage.

Situation 'Extremely Difficult'

*MB2703205194 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 27 Mar 94*

[Text] The political and military situation in Cuanza Norte Province is still characterized by war, with Jose Eduardo dos Santos' men suffering heavy defeats. In Dange-ia-Menha, where the remaining Luanda troops have sought refuge, the situation is extremely difficult. The siege around Dange-ia-Menha is being tightened by [words indistinct] left with no supplies. The Luanda troops are surviving on roots. They are unable to break the siege. The only alternative left to them is to surrender to the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola, FALA.

In the latest clashes the enemy lost Major Fragoso, deputy commander of the 2d Tactical Group of the 45th Regiment. Our forces captured [words indistinct] People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] [words indistinct] lost many men in clashes on the Luanda-Dondo road. An unspecified quantity of heavy and light war materiel was captured. A tanker with 20,000 liters of fuel was set alight by FALA. A T-62 and a (Jakarta) vehicle were burned. Our forces captured one M-46 gun and [words indistinct].

Nujoma Accused of Helping Luanda

*MB2703073094 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 27 Mar 94*

[Text] The Republic of Namibia is regarded as the country most likely to trigger off more tension in southern Africa. Taking into consideration the alliance that exists between that country and the Luanda regime, it can be concluded that Mr. Nujoma clearly wants to provide substantive help to the Luanda communist regime in its vain attempt to destroy the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] by attacking UNITA's rearguard here in Cuando Cubango Province.

In addition to the fact that Namibia has been used by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, MPLA-PT, to secure the services of South African mercenaries, that country is now also becoming the center for MPLA-PT secret police agents to carry out diversionary attacks on UNITA here in Jamba.

Such behavior by the regime led by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, in tandem with the South-West African People's Organization, SWAPO, is a serious threat to stability in southern Africa, particularly if one takes into account the troublesome situation in South Africa, Mozambique, and Angola are currently going through.

Little by little, UNITA is losing its patience. It has often warned the Namibian regime not to be involved in promoting the Luanda regime's macabre operations. A source in the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] General Staff has said that, quote, when the FALA forces turns their cannons on invaders—who will be hunted down until they go back to where they have come from—we will not be responsible for whatever may happen. We have enough equipment at this stage to put on the run any forces provoking us, unquote.

MPLA Air Force Bombing Noted

*MB2703071594 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 27 Mar 94*

[Text] The Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party, MPLA-PT, forces continue their high profile movements in Lunda Sul Province. Those forces are on an offensive under the leadership of [former military commander for Huambo Province] Jorge Sukissa. They are attacking defenseless civilians in general as well as National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]-controlled areas.

Reports from the Voice of Resistance of the Black Cockerel, Vorgan, correspondent in that area, say that the Luanda communist regime's air force bombed the villages of (Caumbangala), (Cuilo), (Chacolo), and (Samucuai) on 20, 21, 22, and 23 March, killing 34 civilians, including 22 children.

It is interesting to note that the government press in Lunda Sul Province has made no mention at all of those attacks by the MPLA-PT forces. Instead, it has falsely accused the UNITA forces of taking the initiative and launching an offensive. The UNITA forces have the simple duties of defending the people against the genocide being perpetrated by Jose Eduardo dos Santos' men and of abiding scrupulously by the unilateral cease-fire declared by UNITA President Dr. Jonas Malheiro Savimbi on 20 September of last year.

Meanwhile, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola have informed the Angolan and international communities that they will do everything in their power to defend the people against attacks by South African or any other mercenaries helping the troops run by Luanda's Futungo de Belas Palace.

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